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## GIRART DE ROSSILLON, AN EXCEPTION IN TEXT CRITICISM

IT IS elementary knowledge that an incomplete manuscript is not willingly selected as the basis for a critical text, particularly since Bédier's insistence on editorial principles already adopted years before in the *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*. A complete version, even if less faithful to the original, is usually to be preferred. An exception to this principle, however, is seriously to be considered in the twelve-syllable poem *Girart de Rossillon*,<sup>1</sup> composed between 1330 and 1334, and transmitted in four manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> Three of the manuscripts are

<sup>1</sup> *Le roman en vers de très excellent, puissant et noble homme Girart de Rossillon, jadis duc de Bourgogne, publié ... par [Prosper] Mignard* (Paris and Dijon, 1858). This edition has long been discredited. It is based on MS P (cf. below, n. 2), and all manner of orthographic vagaries are introduced throughout the text. The other MSS are virtually disregarded, and B was unknown to Mignard. His work is deluged with errors and contributes nothing in the way of critical study of the poem. Cf. P. Meyer, *Girart de Roussillon* (Paris, 1884), pp. cxxv, cxxvii (n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> The MSS are described briefly by Meyer, p. cxxiv, n. 1; and by E. S. Murrell, "*Girart de Roussillon*" and the "*Tristan*" poems (Chesterfield, 1926), pp. 119-21. The following symbols denote the MSS treated in the present study:

B—Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 11181

M—Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, H-244

P—Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 15103

S—Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, H-349

It may be recalled that MS S once formed part of the cathedral library at Sens. MS M was formerly in the private collection of Jean Bouhier (1673-1746), who not only emended and supplemented its readings but also copied M in 1721 into what is now MS 742 of the Bibliothèque de la Ville at Troyes. MS 3322 in the Arsenal is in turn an eighteenth-century copy, by Barbazan, of Troyes 742. Neither of these latter MSS is of the slightest interest for a critical study of the poem.

No attempt to date SBM with any precision has up to now been recorded. MS P is signed by "Eude Savesterot, prestre en la ville de Chastillon sur Seigne, le semadi ix<sup>me</sup> jour du mois de janvier, l'an mil liij<sup>e</sup> xvj" (1417, new style). The least important of the MSS, M, was not executed before the late fifteenth century. Concerning S and B, Professor

preserved intact, while the fourth and oldest (S, at Montpellier) has been mutilated to the extent of losing over six hundred verses<sup>3</sup>—nearly a tenth of the poem. The present study is intended not only to establish S as the basic manuscript for *Girart de Rossillon* but primarily to justify a mildly venturesome departure from customary editorial practice.<sup>4</sup>

It seems desirable first, by way of illustration, to cite recent editorial treatment of a few other manuscripts whose record resembles that of S. The type of substantial but inferior fragment which is superseded for obvious reasons by other manuscripts need not be considered here; cf., for instance, the *Roman de Fauvel* (ed. Langfors) or the *Doctrinal* of Pierre Michault (ed. Walton). More relevant for comparison with S are, for example, manuscript J (Arsenal 3516) of the *Eructavit* (ed. Jenkins) and the Madrid manuscript of the *Vers de la Mort* (ed. Wulff and Walberg); each is of quality to have played a much more important rôle than its incompleteness actually warrants. Still more relevant for S is the Tours manuscript of Wace's *Vie de sainte Marguerite* (ed. Francis); although lacking nearly half the poem, it is published in full beside the more complete Paris manuscript which serves as basis for the edition. The Venice and Arsenal manuscripts of the *Roman d'Alexandre* each shed more light on the early forms of the poem than any other single extant version; they are to be published (by M. S. LaDu) as a supplement to the critical edition proper of the Alexander epic. So much for incomplete manuscripts for which conventional treatment has been amply justified by editors.

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Charles Samaran has kindly offered the opinion that the former "se classe assez nettement dans mon groupe de mss. datés (français) du milieu du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle. Quant à celui de Bruxelles, il me semble que la première moitié du xv<sup>e</sup> lui conviendrait." The 1467 inventory shows that both B and P were already in the Burgundian ducal library within the lifetime of Philip the Good.

<sup>3</sup> Of the 91 leaves which originally composed S, 8 are entirely lost and 2 more are preserved only in part. The lacunae left by the 8 full leaves correspond to vss. 1-74 (fol. 1), 2741-3036 (fols. 38-41), 3185-3258 (fol. 44), and 6167-6315 (fols. 84-85). From fols. 2-3 verses to the number of 26 have been completely torn away at various intervals, while 52 more are left only partly intact. Thus the MS has lost 619 verses in all, plus parts of 52 more. The other MSS show that the poem contains 6,712 verses.

<sup>4</sup> The preparation of this preliminary paper has been made possible by a research fellowship awarded to me for the academic year 1933-34 by the American Council of Learned Societies. My studies under the fellowship are leading to a critical edition of the fourteenth-century poem; the subsequent plan is to examine problems raised by the Girart de Roussillon legend as a whole.

The *Vie de saint Thomas le Martyr*, by Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence (ed. E. Walberg, 1922), for example, and the German *Minnelehre*, by Johann von Konstanz (ed. F. E. Sweet, 1934), involve delicate textual decisions which may be examined with more particular profit in an approach to the *Girart de Rossillon* manuscripts. The two poems have been transmitted under widely varying circumstances, and in each case the editor's elaborate investigations have led to a judicious choice of basic manuscript. For a poem of 6,180 verses, Walberg has selected a version from which 1,200 verses have been lost; these lines are supplied from an inferior member of the same manuscript group. Beyond proving the quality of his best version, the editor maintains an imprudent silence about his preference for the incomplete manuscript as such.<sup>5</sup> While the *Vie de saint Thomas* manuscripts show many disparities which divide them into specific groups, the situation is entirely different in the *Minnelehre*. As in the case of *Girart de Rossillon*, the *Minnelehre* manuscripts are immeasurably closer together than in the *Vie*; Sweet has wisely rejected any filiation. Consequently, the selection of the basic manuscript was of necessity determined by criteria quite dissimilar to those obtaining in the *Vie de saint Thomas*. In the *Minnelehre* (2,550 vss.) a choice is made between the oldest manuscript, in which the scribe has failed to include 123 verses, and a late manuscript, which is the fullest of the five versions. A careful weighing of the evidence has persuaded the editor to choose—correctly in my opinion—the completer manuscript, despite its lateness and despite the striking degree of similarity among all the *Minnelehre* texts. While it is the *Minnelehre* manuscript tradition which more closely resembles that of *Girart de Rossillon*, it is a decision parallel to that for the *Vie de saint Thomas* which should apply to *Girart*. In view of the successful choice of basic manuscript in each case, comparison with the editions of the *Vie* and of the *Minnelehre* is all the more relevant to the present study.

<sup>5</sup> Introd., p. clxvi: "Pour base de mon texte j'ai pris B. ... Pour les parties du texte qui manquent dans cette copie, c'est H qui, malgré les menues négligences qu'il commet très souvent et les libertés qu'il prend quelquefois avec le texte, doit la remplacer, non seulement à cause de la place, voisine de B, qu'il occupe dans l'arbre généalogique des manuscrits, mais surtout en raison de son ancienneté et de la langue relativement pure de son copiste. Celle-ci ne diffère, en effet, pas sensiblement de celle de B." A note adds the comment that "il aurait été plus commode de se servir principalement du ms. P, qui est à peu près complet et le meilleur représentant de sa famille. Cependant, d'une part le groupe BHD me paraît en général préférable à PWC, d'autre part le ms. P est à plusieurs points de vue inférieur aussi bien à H qu'à B." Cf. p. cxlii for further criticism of H.

Prior to a survey of the actual filiation of the *Girart de Rossillon* manuscripts, a preliminary evaluation of the separate texts is in point. Linguistically, the most satisfactory copies are S and P. Even if the author of the poem were not a monk of the abbey of Pothières, his language<sup>6</sup> at least is quite in accord with that of a person born in the vicinity. Manuscript P, utilized by Mignard, was completed in 1417 by a cleric at Châtillon-sur-Seine, only two kilometers from Pothières. Although executed more than eighty years after the poem itself, the manuscript is written in a dialect not dissimilar to that of the author. Particularly in comparison with manuscript S, the orthography does, however, clearly reflect the greater lapse of time between the P copyist and the original poet. The fact that S is written in a conspicuously Burgundian dialect within a decade or two of the poem itself brings this manuscript closer than any other to the linguistic habits of the author. Manuscripts M and B are more widely removed from the original; the former, while still preserving many Burgundian spellings, savors too much of the late fifteenth century, whereas B has consciously replaced many of the regional spellings with "normalized" mid-fifteenth-century French. In terms of linguistic qualifications, the manuscripts may safely be arranged in the order of S, P, M, and B. The principal habits of the several scribes are to be reviewed in my proposed edition of *Girart de Rossillon*.

As the agreements which determine groupings are comparatively scant, the individual variants are of especial importance in an estimate of each separate manuscript. The manuscript which is the most quickly dismissed is M: at the beginning of the poem M replaces verses 11-34 by five couplets of its own; the scribe interpolates a couplet between verses 40-41 and omits ten further verses (998, 1003-6, 1790, 2103, 2745, 3388, 3642) which are present in SBP; and the manuscript contains numerous individual variants which frequently involve errors. Such variants occur, for example, in verses 900 (M *ainsi loy retraire*, SBP *homme de noble affaire*), 969 (M *nes vons*, SBP *n'avons*), 985 (M *pas ne le trorés*, SBP *nous trowerez pas*), 1010 (M *sommes de l'acort*, SBP *sons de cest acort*), 1024 (M *des bons*, SBP *de*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Meyer, p. cxxvi. A confused and ineffective dissertation on the language was presented in 1884 at Bonn by G. M. Breuer, *Sprachliche Untersuchung des Girart de Rossillon* herausgegeben von Mignard.



*vous*), 1991 (M *sont*, SBP *cinc*; M *sest*, SBP *sextes*), 4151 (M *soloye*, SBP *siaux*). Rhyme repetition within a couplet occurs a number of times in M against the combined agreement of SBP. The emendations made in M by Bouhier are of no value for an edition of *Girart*; suffice it to say, in case verse 3622 may be regarded as an adequate criterion,<sup>7</sup> that Bouhier was not deriving his suggestions from either S, B, or P.

The only manuscript which rivals M in abundance of individual variations is P; in addition to omitting seven verses (844, 912, 976, 1180, 1868, 5432, 5967) and inverting verses 1005-6, the scribe admits sundry rhyme repetitions (plus the same second hemistich in verses 3191-92 and 6593-94) and allows himself many individual readings. In verse 308, instead of *en paradis* as in SBM, P repeats *avecques Dieu*; further errors appear, for example, in verses 376 (P *du sont ml't*, SBM *de ce sont*), 629 (P *estoit rois* in -oît rhyme), 1115 (P *roy de france droit*, SBM *roy de faire droit*), 1209 (P *grans fors*, SBM *forz leux*), 1943 (P *en Ongrie*, SBM *a un gué*), 2945 (P *preu neveu*, B[M] *preu n'oneur*, S lost), 3213 (P *havoit*, BM *savoit*, S lost). Further individual variants, some of which disturb the meter, need not be enumerated here.

While individual variation is less frequent in B than in P or M, it is notably more common in B than in S. In the first place, the B copyist omits ten verses (388, 2236, 2706, 3748, 4070, 4136, 5546, 5733, 6424, 6642). The copyist's tendency away from the Burgundian dialect is illustrated in verses 895-96, where SPM accept *parlerai* (in rhyme, vs. 895) as third person singular; the couplet in B follows:

Foy que doy saint Denis, qui plus m'en parlera  
Saiche que de par moy corrouciés en sera.

In SPM, verse 896 ends with *je le corrouceray*. Note also verses 4215-16 where B rhymes *avons:façons* but SPM *havriens:faciens*, and verses 5825-26 B *repentirent:sentirent* beside SPM *repenterent:sente-rent*. A few errors occur, as in verses 4317-18, both of which in B end with *par grant cure*, and as in verses 3645 and 4826, where B is guilty

<sup>7</sup> The verse is not present in SBM; in P it reads *Qui tous les demenoit, ce est verité pure*. In M, Bouhier proposes *Qui le roy et les siens trott forment de mesure*, a reading more authentic in aspect than that of P; cf. vs. 3621 in SBPM, *Je croy bien que ce fiat orguils et de mesure*. One is thus incidentally led to contemplate the hypothesis of a lost intermediate MS between the original and SBPM.

of bad rhyming. A few further verses yield individual changes by the copyist, notably 2061, 2599, 3636, 5658, 5744. Unimportant differences in word order are to be found in verses 581, 657, 844.

By contrast with BPM, there are in the entire poem only seven points at which S diverges in the slightest degree from the reading indicated by the other three manuscripts. The divergences are so slight as to suggest the possibility of S as the source of BPM; in this regard it is noteworthy that verse 3622, the only line<sup>s</sup> in the poem known to have been omitted by the copyist of S, is absent likewise from BM and probably from the immediate source of P as well. A somewhat speculative objection to this theory, however, presents itself in the circumstance that folio 3<sup>v</sup> of S begins with verse 186 and folio 4<sup>r</sup> with verse 225. After verses 186-210 nothing is preserved on folio 3<sup>v</sup>, which, failing omissions, would have originally contained 39 lines. Most of the pages in S contain 37, while some contain 38, but no page anywhere in the manuscript today contains as many as 39 verses. It is consequently very possible that the copyist omitted one or two verses from among verses 211-24. Aside from the possible omission on folio 3<sup>v</sup>, there remain only five variants which are peculiar to S alone. In verse 319 S reads *avecques* in place of BPM *evesques*; S rhymes verses 625-26 with *morirent:escheïrent* rather than in *-urent*; BPM *segneffiés* 1047 is written *seguessiez* in S; *fuy* 2011 is an orthographic variant for BPM *feu*; and in verse 3264 S reads *deuons* instead of *de nous*. The seventh divergence of S occurs in verse 2124 where, however, P likewise adds the same extra syllable (B alone is metrically correct): SP *esgardoient*, B *veoient*, M *voyent*. A possible eighth divergence is the reading *vauras* in S (and P as well) in verse 4042: *De cy ne te mouras aïnz savras et vauras* (BM *verras*) *Tout ce qu'il voudra faire. ...*

On the basis of language and of individual variations, the superiority of S over BPM is now no longer open to question. Particularly in fidelity to his model, the copyist of S shows himself to be of extraordinary reliability. It will next be seen that the value of S is further enhanced by the evidence concerning manuscript filiation.

A superficial inspection of agreements quickly leads one to think of SB together and also to connect P with M. While the evidence is not

<sup>s</sup> Cf. above, n. 7.

strong enough to assure the existence of actual groups with mathematical certainty, it does create a reasonable presumption in favor of a common source for PM. In certain lines these manuscripts agree on errors which by their number combine, in my opinion, to indicate a faulty model (despite the facility with which each one singly might be attributed to mere coincidence): verse 837, SB *l'esprivier*, PM *les premier*; verses 6435-36, SB *tesmoingnent:ansoingnent*, PM *tesmoingnent:tesmoignent*; verses 916, 1620, 1681, 1719, 1788, 2521, 3354, 3723, 4412, 4605, 4690, 4943, 4949, 5193, 5327, and 5724 each contain cases of PM *mervoille(s)* versus SB *merevoille(s)*, with the result that these verses are one syllable short in PM (similarly in vs. 6141, PM *mervoilleuse* versus SB *marevoilluse*); verses 1738, 3428, 3804, 3838, 5820, 5493, and 6352 contain forms of *verai* from which PM omit the *e* and spoil the syllable count; verse 704, SB *Lorraine*, PM *Lorraine* and verse 4091, SB *meïsmes*, PM *mesmes*, where in each case PM lack one syllable; the PM reading *Girart* for *Giraut* in verse 1961 is, to be sure, hardly impressive as a common error. That these agreements are not all due to mere accident is further substantiated by the preponderance of PM-versus-SB alignments over any other combination of manuscripts.

In addition to the errors just listed, PM agree against SB in a little over sixty readings. As it is much more considerable than the number of readings supporting any other manuscript alignment, this low figure, in a poem of nearly seven thousand lines, helps to show how closely the four manuscripts resemble one another. The slightness of the discrepancies in these sixty-odd passages merely emphasizes further the similarity between the manuscripts. In this regard it is sufficient to cite the dozen or so disparities which are relatively most pronounced. Mont Laçois, near Châtillon-sur-Seine, is referred to as *laccois* in SB but *lauçois* in PM (vss. 332, 386, 402, 405, 413, 484; note, however, that in vss. 488 and 507 P agrees with SB while M alone reads *lauçois*). Further instances include verse 1983, SB *hez*, PM *liés*; verse 2173, SB *droce*, PM *drece*; verse 3409, SB *ques*, PM *qui* (a case which perhaps should be charged against PM as a common error caused by failure to recognize the archaic compound *ques=quiles*); verse 3617, SB *cops*, PM *corps*; verse 4126, SB *laïssier*, PM

*sessier*; verse 4286, SB *oir*, P *or*, M *ores*; verse 5202, SB *Frolois*, PM *Frelois*; verse 6085, SB *acoutees*, PM *escoutees*; verse 6590, SB *fine*, PM *finer*.

While the testimony for linking P with M against SB is scant for a poem of the length of *Girart de Rossillon*, the testimony for any other alignment begins to verge on the microscopic. There are some thirty trivial agreements pointing feebly to a BM-SP division, and six or seven infinitesimal coincidences in accord with a BP-SM plan, but no evidence whatsoever in support of any other combination of the manuscripts. The readings in verses 2124 and 4042 have already been cited as errors in SP; to these should be added *Challe le chaut* in verse 232, where, however, the *t* has been corrected in S to *f*, probably by the original copyist himself. In verses 1564 (SP *Sone*, BM *Soone*), 2424 (SP *mescheant*, BM *meschant*), 3890 (SP *souler*, BM *saouler*), BM have spoiled the syllable count. Clearly these six errors, by their insignificance and by their infrequency, can in no way establish a BM-SP grouping. As for other readings, none is of value in manuscript classification, e.g., verses 765-66, SP *ami* : *arraymy*, BM *amis* : *entremis*; 1356, SP *soint*, BM *soit*; 2058, SP *estiens*, BM *fusmes*; 3527, SP *li*, BM *ceulx*; 4014, SP *grant duel*, BM *courrouz*; 6675, SP *avisiom*, BM *vision*. The BP-SM agreements are too futile to be recorded in detail.<sup>9</sup>

The manuscripts provide further testimony, aside from the text itself, to support the division of PM from SB. All four copies contain annotations either in the form of rubrics or as marginal comments, together with paragraph symbols, *nota* signs, and pointing hands. This material is of corroborative interest for the problem of manuscript relations. On the other hand, the large initial letters with which the poem is liberally supplied shed no light on the question of filiation at a single point in the entire poem.

At the outset SB have many more marginalia and rubrics than PM. In fact, M has so little of this material as to reduce its helpfulness in this regard to a minimum. There are but five rubrics in M, each of which is closely paralleled in S; apart from two which bear a little resemblance to two rubrics in B as well, the M marginalia are of no further value for manuscript relations. The few marginal phrases in P

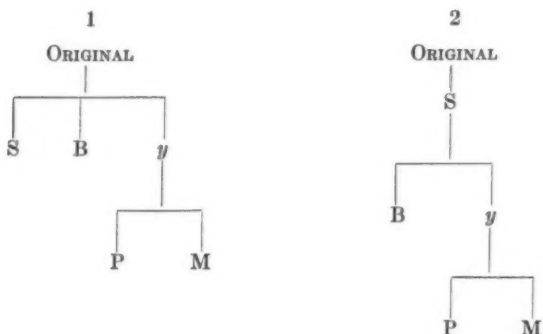
<sup>9</sup> Cf. vss. 717, 773, 1874, 2053, 2597, and 5116 in the variants to accompany my text.

are likewise of negligible import to the manuscript scheme; save for an occasional slight similarity to S, they reflect nothing beyond an incidental impulse on the part of the copyist of P. More than any other manuscript P emphasizes passages in the poem by means of marginal pointing hands, the majority of which show no relation with SBM.

The evidence of rubrics, paragraph symbols, and *nota* signs lends support to the association of S and B. Of the 27 rubrics in B, 19 accord in varying degree with corresponding rubrics in S. It should, however, be noted that even in the extant leaves of S the rubrics are more than three times as numerous as in B; furthermore, the slovenly calligraphy of the S notations differs widely from the elegant transcription of the poem itself, and is indicative of a rather later hand. Paragraph symbols (in the hand of the original copyist) appear opposite the same verse in the poem twenty-one times in SB, thirty-seven times in SBP, and only once in SP; where S is lost, there are three such instances common to BP. *Nota* signs occur at the same point sixteen times in SB, never in SBP, and only twice in SP; also once in BP where S is lost. A hand points at verse 2261 in SBP, and at three further verses in SP; at verses 3128 and 5973 P has a pointing hand and S a *nota* sign, and similarly at verses 1213 and 3629 B has a *nota* sign and P a hand. The likelihood that copyists could agree independently in choosing verses which merited special notice must of course be considered in evaluating the figures enumerated in this paragraph. The marginal materials do not in any way facilitate a judgment of the reliability of the four manuscripts; they align SB against PM on the issue of completeness, and on the issue of tangible parallels they supplement the testimony of the poem itself by pointing further to a close resemblance between S and B.

The scantiness of the evidence precludes clear-cut and definitive filiation of the manuscripts of *Girart de Rossillon*. The data just reviewed are, to be sure, indicative of a common source for PM; in any case they establish the textual inferiority of this pair of manuscripts to either S or B. There is no evidence to show that S and B constitute an actual group, nor can the possibility that B was copied directly from S be any more than proposed. The testimony suggests two pos-

sible stemmas (of which the first seems to me preferable), without supplying proof for either alternative:



Two further stemmas could provide for hypotheses that S might have been the direct source for either B or *y* alone, but not for both together. Finally, the evidence has demonstrated the superiority of the S copyist over each of the other three transmitters of the poem.

It remains next, in this second part of the present study, to pass upon the more delicate question of S as the basis for a critical edition. The qualities of the incomplete Montpellier manuscript should first be reviewed:

1. The extraordinary accuracy with which the copyist has reproduced his model; individual variations of any sort are virtually non-existent.

2. The manuscript was executed within a decade or two of the original poem, whereas a period of over eighty years separates the poem from the oldest of the other three manuscripts.

3. The dialect of S is closer than that of any other copyist to the dialect of the author.

4. An edition based on either B, P, or M would require an appreciably larger number of reconstituted readings; this follows, of course, as a corollary to (1).

The incompleteness of S raises, at most, two objections to its selection as the basic manuscript: first, present-day editorial practice; and,

second, the remarkable similarity to one another of the four copies of the poem. A text based on either B or P, or even on M, would assure uniformity and could, after all, be constituted without particular difficulty. Such an edition would conform with success to accepted principles of textual criticism. Its adequacy would, in fact, remove any actual necessity for violating editorial custom in the manner which choice of S as the basic manuscript would entail.

There is, however, another way of reacting to the close parallelism of the four manuscripts. Their interresemblance is so pronounced that an edition based on S and supplemented by one of the other manuscripts would suffer no great loss of the very uniformity which is justly considered so important in the editorial practice of today. In other words, it scarcely follows that adherence to regular editorial custom in *Girart de Rossillon* is necessarily desirable. But a clearer view of an edition based on S should be set forth before a final decision is reached.

A manuscript would have to be selected to fill the lacunae in S. The choice lies between B and P, in view of the lateness and more evident inferiority of M. While B is textually more dependable than P, this disparity is more than compensated by the linguistic resemblance of P to S. A text of *Girart de Rossillon* based on S and supplemented by P would achieve in its language an aspect of uniformity buttressed still further by the close textual likeness found in all four manuscripts of the poem. It may be added that in the *Minnelehre* of Johann von Konstanz, for example (cf. above, p. 3), such a text would not have been satisfactory; for, although the *Minnelehre* manuscripts show even less tendency than those of *Girart* to divide into groups, they are nearly all guilty of frequent individual modifications.

In advancing the primacy of S, I am merely seeking to present the particular poem, *Girart de Rossillon*, according to the most profitable method compatible with its particular medieval manuscripts. At the same time, no attempt is being made here to minimize the adequacy of a text based on one of the three complete manuscripts of the poem. Above all, no attempt is being made here to belittle the considerations which have led editors to the principles of textual criticism governing the numerous excellent editions of recent years. The fourteenth-cen-



tury *Girart de Rossillon* is simply an isolated text which seems to invite departure from these principles. The question of the basic manuscript, therefore, resolves itself into the following choice: Is the interest of this text best served by a law-abiding twentieth-century edition of a good complete manuscript executed at least over eighty years after the poem itself? Or is it wiser to preserve the text, 90 per cent complete, of an extraordinarily accurate manuscript nearly contemporaneous with the original author? I accept the latter alternative.

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## A MISSING CHAPTER OF THE *VIE DE TOBIE*

THE medieval French poem known as the *Vie de Tobie*<sup>1</sup> and ascribed to Guillaume, a Norman clerk in Warwickshire,<sup>2</sup> seems to be an independent versification of the Book of Tobit as found in the Latin Vulgate. It follows closely the substance of the Vulgate, with only slight alterations of order or content. In the Vulgate, for instance, Raguel divides his property with his son-in-law immediately after his daughter's wedding night, but in the French version this is not done until the young couple's departure two weeks later. Now and again the French abridges moral reflections or prayers; and the prayer of the elder Tobias after the departure of the archangel (Tob., chap. 13) does not occur at all. Dancing at the wedding is an invention of the French translator: *Grant bal demeinent e grant bruit* (l. 1009; cf. Tob. 8:21-23). But many characteristic details are retained, such as the delightful description of Tobias' dog returning home:

Tunc praececurrit canis qui simul  
fuerat in via: et quasi nuncius ad-  
veniens, blandimento suae caudae  
gaudebat [Tob. 11:9]

Mes ainz qu'il puissent entrer,  
Vint lor chien sa coe batant  
E molt grant joie demenant  
[ll. 1198-1200];

or the temporary clash of personalities when the archangel Raphael presents himself to the blind Tobias in the guise of a mortal as an escort for his son:

Ingressus itaque salutavit eum, et  
dixit: Gaudium tibi sit semper. Et  
ait Tobias: Quale gaudium mihi  
erit, qui in tenebris sedeo, et lumen  
caeli non video? . . . Cui Tobias re-  
spondit: Rogo te, indica mihi de  
qua domo, aut de qua tribu es tu?  
Cui Raphael angelus dixit: Genus  
quaeris mercenarii, an ipsum mer-

E quant cil fu venue a vant  
Sil salua e si li dist  
Que Deus joie li trameist.  
Joie? fait Tobie: por veir,  
Je ne puis or grant joie avoir  
Quant la clarte del ciel ne vei. ...  
Vaslet, fait il, vostre merci  
Comment avez vus non, ami?  
De mon non, fait cil, que vus chalt

<sup>1</sup> Edited by R. Reinsch in Herrig's *Archiv*, LXII (1879), 375 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*; see also H. Traver, *The four daughters of God* (Philadelphia, 1907), pp. 31-32, n. 3, and A. Långfors, "Notice des Manuscrits 535 de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Metz et 10047 des nouvelles acquisitions du fonds français de la Bibliothèque Nationale suivie de cinq poèmes français sur la parabole des Quatre Filles de Dieu," in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* . . . , XLII (Paris, 1933), 181, 209 ff.

cenarium, qui cum filio tuo eat? Sed  
ne forte sollicitum te reddam, ego  
sum Azarias Ananiae magni filius  
[Tob. 5:11, 12, 16-18].

Fors que vostre fiz vienge e aut  
Tut sain e sauf en cest veage?  
Mes por paier vostre corage,  
E qe vus ne seiez en dote,  
Vus dirrai la verite tote  
Je sui apele Zacharie  
E sui fiz del grant Ananie [ll. 654-80].

The Latin poetic version of Tobit by Matthew of Vendôme, composed about 1185,<sup>3</sup> seems not to have influenced the French one at all. It follows the order of the Hieronymian text but is expanded with many digressions, drawn from other books of Scripture, glossators, and patristic commentators, and with rhetorical elaborations in the scholastic style of the twelfth century.

Curiously enough, in the French version the allegory of *Les quatre filles de Dieu*<sup>4</sup> is introduced at the beginning between the author's prologue and the actual Tobit material. The joining of the allegory to the *Vie de Tobie* is as follows:

335    Donc fu Adam desprisone  
          E cil qui aveient sone,  
          E chantee les prophecies,  
          Qui furent donques acomplies.—  
          Done vit Tobie son seignor,  
          Qu'il avoit desire maint jor,  
          Por qui il ensevilisseit  
          Les cors, quant leisir en aveit,  
          Si cum vus orrez en l'estorie

344    Qui bien est digne de memorie. ...

Reinsch based his edition on Paris MS B.N. fr. 19525, folios 129<sup>B</sup>–141<sup>B</sup> (P) and collated it with Oxford, Jesus College MS 29, folios 195 (=268)<sup>C</sup>–198 (=271)<sup>B</sup> (O). The latter MS, however, ends after

<sup>3</sup> Inc.: "Ex agro veteri virtutum semina, morum  
Plantula, iustitiae pullulat ampla seges: . . ."

Last edited by F. A. G. Müldener, *Matthaei Vindocinensis Tobias* (Göttingen, 1855); also printed in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CCV, 933 ff., from Hering's edition (Bremen, 1642). See also M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, III (Munich, 1931), 739–40.

<sup>4</sup> This allegory is based on Ps. 84:11: *Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi, iustitia et pax osculatae sunt*. It was studied some years ago by Miss H. Traver (see above, n. 2); cf. review by P. Meyer in *Romania*, XXXVII (1908), 484–85. It was later discussed, with the *Vie de Tobie*, by Miss J. Murray in *Le Château d'Amour de Robert Grosseteste évêque de Lincoln* (Paris, 1918), pp. 74 f. A more exhaustive study of this allegory was recently made by M. A. Långfors (see above, n. 2), who analyzed and classified the versions, listed relevant MSS, and printed the texts (pp. 172–282).

the link quoted above, before the Tobit material, although with this colophon: *Explicit de Thobia*. Reinsch pointed out (p. 385) that there is a blank of nearly two pages after *Qui bien est digne de memorie* in P. The beginning of the Tobit material corresponds to the beginning of the second chapter in the Vulgate. In her study of *The four daughters of God*, Miss Traver said (p. 32) that the allegory was "inserted by Guillaume as an episode in his translation of a Latin Tobias in place of the first chapter of the Latin version," apparently not noticing the blank which is sufficient to cover the first chapter on the same scale as the rest of the rhymed version.

In his introduction Reinsch mentioned another Oxford MS (Rawlinson Misc. 534 in the Bodleian Library) referred to by Stengel,<sup>5</sup> but he apparently did not see or use it himself. M. Långfors remarks (p. 209) that the Rawlinson MS has still not been examined for the text of the *Vie de Tobie*. Its present shelf-mark is Rawl. Poetry MS 234, misprinted as 224 by M. Långfors (pp. 209, 289), following *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXXIII, 377, and his own *Les Incipit des poèmes français antérieurs au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, [1917?]), p. 331. This MS is found to contain 112 lines following the link quoted above and representing the missing first chapter of Tobit; it also fills in other gaps and supplies some interesting variants. It will hereinafter be referred to as R.

A general description of the entire manuscript is printed in the Bodleian summary catalogue.<sup>6</sup> The *Vie de Tobie*, which occupies folios 1<sup>A</sup>-9<sup>B</sup>, is in an English Gothic bookhand of the first half of the thirteenth century. The script has indeed certain characteristics which are definitely to be traced to the twelfth-century tradition of South and Central England, but it may have been written as late as the second quarter of the thirteenth. A space (in some columns equivalent to two letters, in most to one) intervenes between the first letter and the rest of each line; these initial letters are touched with red, now much oxidized. Simple red capitals begin new sections. The pages are written in two columns of 46 lines. As Reinsch's notes give only a selection of variants, it is not practical to give here a collation of

<sup>5</sup> E. Stengel, *Cod. ms. Digby 86* (Halle, 1871), p. 52.

<sup>6</sup> F. Madan, *A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, III (1895), 336, No. 14725.

R on a basis of his text. An example of the many variants may be cited: at lines 113–14 Reinsch printed *Demaintenant sanz retenue/En est devant le rei venue* without any note on the reading of his two MSS; R has (fol. 1<sup>C</sup>) *De maintenant sen est uenue/Deuant le rei sanz atendue*. The fairly frequent occurrence in R of words which Reinsch did not record for the two MSS he used suggests that R may have been copied from an independent exemplar; e.g., at line 167 Reinsch printed *Ma seur e jeo jugon pur veir* (with the notes: P seur. O sæur, iuggum, veyr), while R has (fol. 1<sup>D</sup>) *Ma sor û uenus bien pur veir*; and at lines 221–22 Reinsch gave *Que jeo n'eusse ma dreiture;/Car jeo m'ai de mensonge cure* (with the notes: 221, *ke, nusse, dreiture*; 222, *kar, nay, mensunge*), for which R has (fol. 2<sup>A</sup>) *Ke io veise ma dreiture/Ke io nai de uengance cure*.

The scribe of R seems to have been somewhat careless: in the second column he repeated a line (l. 53 in Reinsch's edition); at line 186 he wrote *sorors* for *socors*, again repeating from the line above; at the end, owing to the repetition of *ama Deu e*, he telescoped two lines, omitting the two intervening.

	REINSCH	R, fol. 9 <sup>B</sup>	
1417	A cel hore, que il morut E toz jorz ama Deu e crut; E Deu e bone gent l'amerent, Qu'il fu un de cels, qui donc erent, Qui plus ama Deu e servi. L'estorie est definee ici, Que translatee avon brefment; E se nul la velt autrement Traiter, il ne m'en peise mie,	A tel hore kil murrut E toz iorz ama deu e     Lestorie define ici Ke translate aueit breument E si nul la uolt autrement Traite il ne me peise mie	1532 1533    serui 1533 1534
1426	Ainceis me plaist, que mierz la die.	Ainceis me pleit ki melz la die  Ici finist la uie thobie.	 1539

On the other hand, on folio 2<sup>C</sup>, after the first word (*Fust*) of line 27, he left a blank, apparently failing to decipher in his model the words which Reinsch printed . . . *disciplinez e clofiz* and which O (fol. 197<sup>D</sup>) gives as . . . *discipline e dou fiz*.

In face of the footnote "Sieben Silben" to Reinsch's reading for line 213, R offers an eight-syllable line. The variants of the line following it are suggestive in the study of thirteenth-century vowels.

## REINSCH, LL. 213-14

Biau pere, fait Verite  
Ne puet nient estre aquite.<sup>7</sup> ...

R, fol. 2<sup>A</sup>

Biau pere fet dunc verite  
Ne pot nent estre quite. ...

At line 256, where a blank is left in P, Reinsch supplied a line *E desturbez de lur confort* from folio 29<sup>a</sup> of Arundel MS 292 in the British Museum, a MS of *Les quatre filles de Dieu*,<sup>8</sup> but as this carries with it four other lines<sup>9</sup> for which no space was left by the scribe of P, the more probable reading is that found in R, a single line: *Les dous veolent kil seit mort* (fol. 2<sup>B</sup>, l. 27), and corroborated by O, folio 197<sup>C</sup>, though not noted by Reinsch: *les dous veolent kil seyt mort*. Another line left blank in P (Reinsch, l. 1243) can be supplied from R (fol. 4<sup>C</sup>): *Donc vindrent naban e achor*.<sup>10</sup>

The version of chapter 1 of the Book of Tobit found only in R is as follows:<sup>11</sup>

FOL. 2<sup>D</sup>, L. 24 [= REINSCH'S  
L. 344]

... Ki bien est digne de memorie.

**E**n tens salmanasar le rei  
Ke giws furent en effrei  
Chacie e en cheitiueisun,  
Fu tobie mis en prisun  
Ki esteit iosue meschin

De la ligne neptalim;  
E neptalim pur uerite  
Esteit nome la cite  
Dont li damoiseus ert neiz.  
Quant<sup>12</sup> il fu hors de sun pais  
Il noblia mie sun deu:  
Toz iorz aida e tint liu  
As chaistifs ki as sons esteient  
Ki daide mester auient  
E quant<sup>12</sup> li mescreant alcient

<sup>7</sup> REINSCH'S FOOTNOTE: *peot. nent. P quite, O aquite.*

<sup>8</sup> Published by Fr. Michel, *Libri Psalmorum versio antiqua gallica e cod. ms. in Bibl. Bodleiana asservato una cum versione metrica alisque monumentis pervetustis* (Oxford, 1860), pp. 364-68, who entitles it *De salvatione hominis dialogus* (there is no title in the MS).

<sup>9</sup> Arundel MS 292, fol. 29<sup>a</sup> (and printed by Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 367):

"Vos sors sunt a descord  
E desturbez de lur confort,  
Pur mun prisun ke par sort  
Ben ad deserui la mort.  
Les deus uolent kil \*morge en prisun\* (\*—\* in rasura)  
Sanz merci e sanz rancun  
E les deus uolent kil uiue.  
La une a lautre si estrue."

<sup>10</sup> Reinsch, ll. 1241 ff.: "... Par cel home qui l'ot mene  
E apris e endoctrine.  
[Donc vindrent naban e achor]  
Qui n'erent pas venu encor  
Cosins Tobie, e joie firent ... (Tob. 11:20).

<sup>11</sup> Punctuation has been modernized and contractions have been expanded. Where the expansion is debatable or where an obvious scribal error has been corrected, the exact MS reading is given in a footnote.

<sup>12</sup> MS <sup>a</sup> *qnt.*

As ueals dor kil aureient  
 Ke ieroboam fet auoit  
 Tobie pas ne les siwoit.  
 En ierusalem sen alout  
 E el temple deu a droit  
 Rendit ses dimes e offroit  
 E bien e seintement uiuoit.

## FOL. 3A

E quant<sup>12</sup> il truuoient ces chaitifs  
 V mesaisez v occis  
 As poueres aumones feseit  
 E les morz enseuoileit.  
 Quant<sup>12</sup> il fu homme pariru  
 E fort e en bone uertu  
 Si prist femme de sa ligne  
 Bone e bele e enseigne.  
 Anna out cele dame a nun.  
 Tost engendra un valerun  
 Ki out nun tobie ensement.  
 Deske il out entendement  
 Si peres lad enseigne  
 Kil se gardast de peche  
 E ke nostre seignor seruist  
 E ses commandementz feist.  
 Ore auint kil furent mene  
 E treit de ci ken niniue,  
 Vne cite ancienor  
 V il demorerent maint ior;  
 E tobie si se garda  
 Kil ne but ne ne manga  
 Od les paiens ne tant ne quant.<sup>12</sup>  
 Toz iorz fu a deu entendant,  
 Vnkes ior nel mist en obli.  
 Toz iorz ad deu merci  
 E deu tele grace li dona  
 Ke salmanasar commanda  
 Ke des assiriens fust reis,  
 Ke nul vilain ne nul corteis  
 A tobie mal ne fesist,  
 Mes alast quil<sup>13</sup> part kil uousist

<sup>12</sup> MS *qt.*<sup>14</sup> MS *i* followed by medial point.

E feist eo ke li plout  
 Si ke nuls hom ne li uoust.  
 Dunc erra par tot le pais  
 E reconforta les chaitifs  
 Ki del pople de ierusalem esteient  
 Ky daie mester aueient.  
 Issi erra tobie ades  
 Tant kil trespasa par rages,  
 Vne cite as mediens  
 Aisez pres de ses syriens,  
 E troua en cele cite  
 Vn homme de son parente  
 Ke ert apele Gabelus  
 Mult apoueri e mult confus.

## FOL. 3B

Dispers dargent li ad prestez  
 E par cyrograffe liueriez;  
 E cil li promist kil li rendreit  
 Mult uolentiers quant<sup>12</sup> il poreit.

**A**pres ico mult longement  
 Est uenu a sun finement  
 Salmanasar ki mult lamout.  
 Sennacherit, un<sup>14</sup> fit kil out,  
 Regna apres ki namolt mie  
 Les Gius ne lor compaignie.  
 De lor deu auoit mult mesdit.  
 E ne demora ke un petit  
 Ke nostre sires sen uenga  
 Si cume<sup>15</sup> io vus contenu ia.  
 Issi auint kil se finout  
 De iude u este auoit  
 V mult lui ert mes auenu  
 E quant<sup>12</sup> il sen feu reuenu  
 Des iues fist trop grant martyre:  
 Toz les commanda a occire.  
 Tobie ki par tot errout  
 Coilout les cors e enterrout,  
 Tant<sup>16</sup> kil fu al reis encose  
 E ke li reis ad commande

<sup>15</sup> MS *cûc.*<sup>16</sup> MS *Tat.*



Kil e sa gent fuissent pris  
E kil fuissent toz occis.  
Tobie par acun loi  
Tot un eschapa e fui  
Od sa mulier e od sun filz  
Sest priueement tapiz.  
Quarante vit iorz en apres  
Furent uers le rei si engres  
Si fiz meimes li occistrent  
E autre rei en son lu mistrent.  
Tobie sen reperra  
Vnkes contredit innoua

Einz fu al suen bien e en pes  
E fist ses almones ades  
Vnkes ne fu pus almoner  
Plus leals ne plus dreiturer.

Un ior de este auint issi  
Ke il out fet un grant conui  
E quant<sup>12</sup> le midi aprisma  
Tobie sun fiz apella  
Biaus fiz, fet il, alez vus quere. ...  
[= Reinsch's l. 345].

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THE LATIN TRANSLATIONS OF SPENSER'S  
*SHEPHEARDES CALENDER*

OF THE two Latin translations of the *Shepheardes calender*, one was made during Spenser's lifetime by John Dove and the other shortly after his death by Theodore Bathurst. Perhaps because Dove's work was never printed and Bathurst's not printed until 1653, a certain amount of misinformation in regard to these translations has prevailed even in Carpenter's *Reference guide*. It seems worth while, therefore, to present the facts about them more completely than has previously been done.

Curiously enough, Dove's version, though unprinted, has been mentioned oftener than Bathurst's. Todd called attention to it and printed some, but not all, of the dedication. The fact that Dove apparently did not know who the author of the pastorals was caused him to be mentioned prominently by Greenlaw in his discussion of Spenser's early fame.<sup>1</sup> The only extant manuscript of this translation is in the library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. It is done in a beautiful printing hand and gives every appearance of being one of the presentation copies to Dean James and Subdean Heton of Christ Church, Oxford. The catalogue of the Gonville and Caius manuscripts by M. R. James describes it as follows:

The work is a version in hexameter verse of the Shepherd's Calendar, published and dedicated to Sir Ph. Sidney. The volume belonged to Richard Newell, whose autograph is at the beginning and end. Given by W. Moore. This copy differs from the one in the British Museum.

W. Moore may certainly be identified as William Moore (1590-1659), graduate of Gonville and Caius and librarian of the university, 1653-59, who left his books to his own college on his death. Richard Newell is probably the man of that name listed by Venn as B.A. from St. John's in 1636 and dead in 1645. How the manuscript came into his hands I have not been able to trace, nor can I find any connection between John Dove and the Thomas Dove who was a contemporary of Spenser at Merchant Taylors and Pembroke.<sup>2</sup> The other state-

<sup>1</sup> *PMLA*, XXVI, 419-51, and *Studies in philology*, XI, 1-25.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

ments in James's catalogue are misleading, since the translation is not entirely in hexameters and I am informed by the Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum that there is no manuscript of Dove's work there. The reference must be to the two Bathurst manuscripts, which will be mentioned later.

The title-page of the Gonville and Caius manuscript runs as follows: *Poimenologia, que vulgo calendarium pastorum appellatur e versu Anglicano in latinum traducta. Huic accessit epicedium sub nomine Iakues pastoris, in obitum Algrindi archipoimenos, de quo toties occurrit mentio in hoc libro.* Below it is the motto "*Intrinsecus autem sunt rapaces lupi.*" Then follows, after a blank page, the epistle dedicatory to William James, dean of Christ Church, and Martin Heton, sub-dean:

Prodiit (ornatissimi viri) anno salutis 1581 libellus quidam ἀθέσπορος rithmo Anglicano eleganter compositus, qui vulgare nomine et titulo Calendarium Pastorum inscribebatur, insignissimo D. P. Sidneio dedicatus, cui tum noviter divulgato docti vehementer applauserunt. Quia illustrissimus eques suo patrocinio non indignum iudicavit, eundem etiam latinitate donatum in vestri nominis dignitate apparere volui, vestrum nomen conjunctim affari, vos patronos asciscere, partim ut aliquam observantiae meae significationem vobis darem quibus me plurimum debere agnosco, partim ut hoc opusculum jam pene deletum et quasi sepultum de novo vestrae lectioni secundo commendarem; vel, si non integrum, saltem AEglogas 7, 9, etc. quibus sensus inest longe divinissimus. Spero vobis non ingratum fore hoc meum studium, quum non sitis Morelli, non Davides, non Palinodi, et pseudo-apostoli; sed Algrindi, sed Pierci, et Thomalini, orthodoxi pastores,<sup>3</sup> qui hic scaenice oculis vestris subiiciuntur. Fateor (quod vestrum iudicium nulloatenus subterfugere potest) hoc meum exemplar secunda (ut aiunt) manu vobis traditum si ad archetypum conservatur, sibilo potius quam applausu dignum, alicubi mancum esse, neque nativam illam emphasin spirare, me non tam exacte idiotisomos quam ille autor anonymus in vernaculo idiomate, observasse. Neque id mihi assumo præ exili mea infantia, quum non sit mei ingenii aut iudicii id præstare, quum non omnes (ut scitis) Humfredice transferre possimus, aut ea sequi praecepta quae doctissimus pater pastorum Oxoniensium præscripsit, et ab iis exigit qui hanc transferendi operam navare volunt.

The closing sentences which follow in the original contain nothing of importance, being merely apologies for lack of polish in the translator's style, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Todd's quotation stops here in the middle of a sentence.

This preface, combined with the dates of Dove's academic career, enables us to date the work fairly closely. John Dove received his B.A. at Christ Church in February, 1584 (new style), and his M.A. in 1587. James became dean of Christ Church in 1584, while Heton, according to disbursement records in the Christ Church treasury, was first paid as subdean in the fall of 1583. James remained in the deanship until his elevation to the see of Durham in 1596, but payments to Heton as subdean do not go beyond 1588 and possibly cease earlier, since the books for 1586-87 and 1587-88 are missing. Of the four possible years, that of 1584 is by far the most likely. James and Heton had both recently taken office, and Dove, as a newly created bachelor of arts, was in line for favors and appointments which the evidence of literary ability would expedite. Furthermore, the reference to his *infantia* (he was already twenty-four in 1584!) suggests an early date. Finally, Archbishop Grindal died on July 6, 1583, which would make the addition of the poem on his death timely in 1584.

Professors Greenlaw and Baskervill<sup>4</sup> have sufficiently discussed the connection of Dove's dedicatory epistle with Spenser's early reputation. It remains only for me to offer a few comments on other aspects of the manuscript. The reference implied in the phrases *Humfredice transferre* and *ea sequi praecepta* is to Lawrence Humphrey's *Interpretatio linguarum: seu de ratione convertendi et explicandi auctores tam sacros quam prophanos* (Basiliæ, 1559), in the third book of which are *Admonita seu regulæ convertendæ*. Dove says he has not attempted to follow in Latin the dialects and archaicisms of the original, thereby transgressing the command of Humphrey to vary one's style according to the speaker. The phrase *pater pastorum Oxoniensium* seems to be a reference to Humphrey's previous term as vice-chancellor (1571-76), or perhaps to his position as Regius Professor of divinity.

The addition of the poem on Grindal, taken in connection with the passage in the epistle on *pseudo-apostoli* and *orthodozi pastores*, shows that, although it seems Dove did not know the author's name, he had no difficulty in interpreting the allegory. In the separate title to the poem on Grindal, the author, under the pseudonym of Jakues, is described as being of some name and reputation and still living (*adhuc viventis*). Who he may be remains a mystery. One is somewhat at a

<sup>4</sup> *PMLA*, XXVIII, 291-313.

loss to know how Jakues should be anglicized; it certainly can have no connection with the standardized Damons, Tityruses, etc., of classical nomenclature. No one by the name of Jack, Jacks, Jakes or Jaques appears in the university lists of Foster or Venn. There are two Jacques of possible date in Foster, but no evidence to connect them with the poem. The contents of the elegy give no clue to the composer.

From the point of view of verse technique Dove's translation is of interest because of his treatment of the songs in the April, August, and November eclogues. Instead of rendering the songs into some standard classical stanza, such as the sapphic or alcaic, he makes up new stanza forms imitating the structure of the English but composed of regular classical verses. The song in April is represented in Latin by a combination of hexameters with hendecasyllabics, the latter corresponding to the short lines in the original. In August the singing contest is translated into four-line stanzas of which the first and third are hendecasyllabics, the second trochaic dipody, and the fourth iambic tripody. In November, Spenser's elaborate ten-line dirge is represented by five hexameters, two hendecasyllabics, an adonic, another hexameter, and another adonic. Though not a very varied metrist, Dove deserves credit for his freedom of invention. He was apparently the first Renaissance writer to compose new stanza forms for Latin verse; certainly, at any rate, the first in England.

Bathurst's translation was not only published three times but exists also in three manuscripts: one at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and two at the British Museum. All three were done on interleaved copies of the 1597 edition of the *Calendar*. In referring to the Pembroke manuscript Carpenter queries "whether Bathurst were a contemporary of Spenser and his translation made in Spenser's lifetime?" A look at the manuscript and a reference to Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* enables one to settle these questions fairly definitely. Theodore Bathurst was B.A. from Pembroke in 1606, fellow in 1608, M.A. in 1609, and B.D. in 1619. The Pembroke manuscript, of which the first portion is in Bathurst's own hand,<sup>5</sup> contains a rough draft of a

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Aubrey Attwater, librarian of the college, to whom I am greatly indebted for help on the Bathurst manuscript, has confirmed this by comparison with Bathurst's hand in the college accounts.

dedication to Dr. Harsnet, master of the college from 1605 to 1616. This dedication does not appear in either of the British Museum copies or in the three printed editions. The handwriting is not that of a presentation copy and the signature at the end is omitted; so it may never have been used, but it helps us to date the translation. The style is one of extreme flattery and gratitude for some benefit received, which may possibly have been the granting of his fellowship in 1608. At any rate, it is hardly likely that the dedication was composed during the latter half of Harsnet's tenure of the mastership, since there is evidence that Bathurst's feelings toward his superior underwent a change. Harsnet became an extremely unpopular head, so much so that the fellows drew up a number of letters and memorials, of which copies are preserved in the college treasury, asking for his removal. In all of these petitions Bathurst's name appears. Therefore it seems likely that the dedication was composed not long after 1608.

The fact that the translation was made simply as a literary exercise offered to the head of his college perhaps explains why Bathurst, like Dove, never published his work after it had served his purpose. He became rector of a country church and seems never to have sought fame as a writer. In 1653, two years after Bathurst's death, his version was published by William Dillingham. The latter tells us in his preface that two manuscripts of Bathurst's work, *quae propria ipsius manu frequenter interpolata*, had come into his hands. Whether or not these manuscripts contained the letter to Harsnet and the eight lines of verse 'Ad Maecenatem suum' found in the Pembroke copy, these items do not appear in the printed edition. Since they are also missing in the two British Museum copies,<sup>6</sup> which may be the ones Dillingham used, one wonders whether Harsnet ever received the offering originally intended for him. Bathurst's version became the standard translation of Spenser's eclogues and was printed with his works in the 1679 folio. It was also reprinted separately in 1732 by John Ball.

An examination of Bathurst's text shows that, although he could hardly have seen Dove's work, they both used hexameters for the main body of the poems and stanzas of their own construction for the songs. Bathurst, however, had a slightly larger command of meters

<sup>6</sup> These two copies differ from each other and from Dillingham's printed edition in details.



than Dove, and to that extent his inventions are of more interest. In the April song he opens with two Alcmæan strophes (dactylic hexameter and tetrameter) followed by two dactylic hexameters, then an iambic dimeter, a lesser alcaic, and a final hexameter—four meters instead of Dove's three. In August, Spenser's four-line stanza is represented by dactylic hexameter, dactylic trimeter, another hexameter, and an anapestic tripod. The ten-line stanza of November uses the meters of April in different combination.<sup>7</sup> In addition to these invented stanza forms Bathurst also renders the whole of the March eclogue (in Spenser an *aabccb* stanza) into sapphic strophes.

These two translations are merely another example of the change which took place in the attitude toward Spenser and toward English poetry in general between 1584 and 1610. Dove felt that he was doing a favor to an obscure author by presenting a Latin translation of his work to the dean of Christ Church, nor in view of the appended poem on Grindal can the doubt be suppressed that it was the religious rather than the poetic merits of Spenser that attracted him. Bathurst, on the other hand, makes not the slightest reference to his author in the preface found in the Pembroke manuscript. It is evident that he felt that he was merely showing his skill in Latin verse by translating an English work of acknowledged standing, whose pastoral character happened to make it especially suitable for such an exercise.

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<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to note that in both the April and the November eclogues Bathurst incorporated classical strophic elements into his new stanzas. The Alcmæan strophe appears in both, while the second half of the Alcaic strophe (iambic dimeter followed by lesser alcaic) appears in ll. 7-8 of April and 6-7 of November.

Since this article was written, I have come across in British Museum MS Harleian 532 a Latin-verse translation of the song in the April eclogue. It is unsigned and bears the title *Hymnus pastoralis in laudem serenissimæ Reginae Elizabethæ; ex Anglico sermone in Latinum traductus*. Like the versions already mentioned, it makes use of several classical meters. It probably dates from around 1600, as all the portions of this volume are either late sixteenth-century or early seventeenth-century documents.

## GHOSTS AND GUIDES: KYD'S *SPANISH TRAGEDY* AND THE MEDIEVAL TRAGEDY

IT IS a commonplace that Thomas Kyd, in his *Spanish tragedy*, established upon the popular Elizabethan stage the tragedy of blood, the rhetoric of the horrible, the revenge theme, and the ghost. These features of Kyd's drama, together with the five acts and choruses, have long been thought derived from the Senecan tragedies.

In particular, the Ghost of Andrea and his allegoric companion, Revenge, who together form the chorus of *The Spanish tragedy*, are commonly associated with Senecan figures. J. A. Symonds, in his *Shakespeare's predecessors*, first pronounced the Ghost an importation from Seneca. Symonds' pronouncement became a central principle in J. W. Cunliffe's authoritative work on Seneca's influence;<sup>1</sup> and a few years later F. S. Boas wrote that the appearance of the Ghost and Revenge "is suggested by the opening of Seneca's *Thyestes*."<sup>2</sup> More recently F. L. Lucas has strongly implied, at least, that these two creations are modeled on Seneca.<sup>3</sup> And one of the latest commentators, T. S. Eliot, says definitely that they "replace the Tantalus and the Fury of the *Thyestes*."<sup>4</sup>

The consensus of scholarly opinion contains, at times ambiguously, two distinct propositions: (1) Kyd's use of the chorus is Senecan; (2) the figures which compose the chorus—one of them or both—are Senecan. No one is likely to challenge the first proposition. Kyd's use of a chorus, as of a scheme of five acts, must have come ultimately from the classical tragedy, which was, at that time, Senecan. But the second proposition is less convincing; for whereas five acts with choruses are unknown except in the classical drama or in imitations of it, ghosts are conspicuous in earlier English literature, and personifications like Revenge are exclusively medieval. Kyd's use, furthermore, of an Induction immediately suggests some connection with earlier

<sup>1</sup> *The influence of Seneca on Elizabethan tragedy* (London, 1893).

<sup>2</sup> F. S. Boas (ed.), *The works of Thomas Kyd* (Oxford, 1901), p. xxxii.

<sup>3</sup> F. L. Lucas, *Seneca and Elizabethan drama* (Cambridge, 1922).

<sup>4</sup> T. S. Eliot (ed.), *Newton's Seneca* (New York, 1927), p. xxiv.

non-dramatic poetry. And finally, whatever the virtues or weaknesses of the argument that Senecan creations are models for Kyd's *Ghost* and *Revenge*, it is only an argument by analogy. The analogy, moreover, is one upon which scholars have insisted with no great degree of severity; Cunliffe, for instance, sums up his remarks on Kyd's play by saying that distinctive features of Seneca's mode of treatment are wanting.

This paper aims to present what seems to be a more convincing analogy; it maintains that the *Ghost* of *Andrea* and *Revenge* are adaptations of stock characters in the medieval metrical "tragedies." It holds that the *Ghost* is a variation on the ghosts who, in the metrical tragedies, come back to this world to recount their "falls"; that *Revenge* is one of the supernatural beings of medieval literature who act as guides, interpreters, and interlocutors, in the "marvelous journeys"—journeys which might be like that of a ghost back into the world. It recognizes that *The Spanish tragedy* is more than a dramatization of the metrical tragedy in its narrowest form, that is, more than a dramatized recital of *Andrea*'s unhappy death; but it argues that certain popular "tragedies" were likely to pay more attention to embellishments of ghosts and guides and marvelous journeys—features of Kyd's dramatic machinery—than to Chaucer's "certain story" of him that is

y-fallen out of heigh degree  
Into miserie, and endeth wrecchedly;

and that Kyd's adaptation of tragical machinery is quite in line with earlier adaptations.

These proposals, it is doubtless apparent, rest on the assumption that Kyd in constructing a drama may have been influenced by non-dramatic poetry.<sup>5</sup> In *The Spanish tragedy*, however, non-dramatic po-

<sup>5</sup> Since literary historians have tended to search for influences on the drama only in earlier examples of drama, a word perhaps should be said to support the proposition that dramatic and non-dramatic literature could be, and often were, most closely related. It seems simply to be a fact that until the end of the sixteenth century, Englishmen did not differentiate sharply between a play designed for production on the stage and a certain kind of "tragical" narrative; literature was classified according to its subject matter rather than according to its form; thus the medieval conception that such writers as Lucan wrote tragedies persisted, and as late as 1598 Francis Meres could say, "As Accius, M. Attilius, and Milithus were called *Tragaediographi*, because they writ tragedies: so may wee truly terme Michael Drayton *Tragaediographus* for his passionate penning the downfalls of valiant Robert of Normandy, chaste Matilda, and great Gaueston" (*Elizabethan critical essays*, ed. G. G. Smith [Oxford, 1904], p. 316). One might note, too, that authors of metrical

etical elements have long been recognized. Dr. F. S. Boas noted the "superfluity of narrative" and the "epic material" in the first act,<sup>6</sup> he also pointed out, in connection with the Induction, that a "greater than Seneca stood in part sponsor to the play," that is, Virgil; and that the larger part of the Induction is modeled on the *Aeneid* vi.<sup>7</sup> This paper intends to pursue the implications of Dr. Boas' observations, to emphasize the Virgilian rather than the Senecan element.

## I

Ample and striking precedent for a ghost like Andrea, for a personification like his companion, Revenge, and for the events with which these two are associated, is to be found even in so well known a collection of "tragedies" as *The mirror for magistrates*. Thomas Sackville's contribution, for instance, contains a famous "Induction" in which a personification acts as guide for a marvelous journey, and also a vengeful ghost. An analysis of Sackville's "Induction" and his "Complaint of Buckingham," with some notes on the work of his contemporaries and predecessors in the field of metrical tragedy, will throw an impressive light on features of Kyd's drama.

Sackville's "Induction" is a poem introductory to his "tragedy" of Buckingham, and was intended as an introduction to a series of tragedies. It provides an artistic framework which would hold together, and make dramatic, the narratives of "falls." Interest in an artistic *cadre* was traditional; the ordinary procedure was to have the ghosts of the fallen Worthies appear successively, as in a vision, before the poet. This had already occurred in Boccaccio, and in Lydgate's *Fall of princes*, and also in Lyndsay's *Tragedie of the late Cardinal*; it became a characteristic device in *The mirror*. The ghost, moreover, was sometimes conducted from the infernal regions to the poet's chamber,

tragedies frequently employ dramatic terminology: the ghost of "Forrex," in *The mirror for magistrates*, for instance, says, "Complayne I may with *tragiques* on the stage" (ed. Haslewood [London, 1815], I, 153). In France dramatic and non-dramatic productions were similarly not subject to differentiation; the break toward Seneca, however, came earlier and was much sharper than in England; cf. Gustave Lanson, "L'idée de la tragédie en France avant Jodelle," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, XI (1904), 541-85. Notable study of the connections between English dramatic tragedy and metrical tragedy is being pursued by Professor Willard Farnham; cf. "The progeny of 'A mirror for magistrates,'" *Modern philology*, XXIX (1932), 395-410. This article has bibliographical data, and announces a forthcoming book on the metrical tragedy.

<sup>6</sup> Boas, p. xxxlii.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxxii.

to the "stage," by a guide; such a guide in the *Fall of princes*, Book VI, is Fortune; in Higgins' contribution to *The mirror* it is Morpheus. For a ghost and guide to make an ascent from hell, it should be held in mind, is one of the fundamental devices of the metrical tragedy.

The "Induction" of Sackville, however, is a narrative of a descent into Hell. It follows a conventional medieval form, the "marvelous journey." The poet finds himself in a somber landscape; his mind is busy with the mutability of things, and particularly with the "fall of peers." In his daze there appears to him a supernatural being—Sorrow, a personification of his own feelings—as an objectification of the keynote of the events which are about to take place. This being, acting as guide and interpreter, conducts the poet into the realm of the dead, where he hears the ghost of Buckingham recount the story of his "fall."

This narrative, it will be observed, modifies conventional "tragical" machinery in that, instead of the ghosts' being guided into the presence of Sackville, Sackville is guided into the realm of ghosts. But it is no long leap from the conventional; it simply marks a final fusion of "marvelous journey" and "tragedy." The journey of the "Induction" is parallel with that of Lyndsay's *Dreme*, in which Lyndsay, guided into hell by Dame Remembrance, describes in detail the bad princes and ecclesiastics whom he beheld, but does not dwell on their individual "tragical" stories. Higgins, too, in *The mirror* of 1575, uses elements of the marvelous journey; after introducing Morpheus in an "Induction," he makes Morpheus act as his guide for the journey to the place where the ghosts are to appear, to act as interpreter in their conversations about the ghosts, and also to present the ghosts to him.

While holding his "Induction" in line with traditional medieval poetry, Sackville was also under the influence of Virgil. This has been commonly recognized; it is important here because Kyd, in his "Induction," as Dr. Boas pointed out, also echoed Virgil. Both Inductions are modeled on Book vi of the *Aeneid*. Sackville's guide, Sorrow, replaces Aeneas' guide, the Sibyl; Sackville's description of the allegoric personages within the gates of hell, as well as his notes on the geography and scenery of hell, springs from Virgil. These matters, like the notes on the habitat of Sorrow—"among the Furies in the infernal

lake, etc."—are the sort of thing which is likely, when it occurs in the drama, to be called Senecan; it is often Virgilian.

Here in this dark Virgilian hell, the ghost of Buckingham recites his "tragedy." "The complaint of Buckingham," in most respects, is quite like the regular metrical tragedies. Buckingham tells how he aided Richard III in crime; and how, after he had rebelled against Richard, he was betrayed into his hands. This account is interspersed with moralizings proper to tragedies, and Buckingham goes so far as to say that his fall was deserved. And yet the central theme in Buckingham's account is a most passionate demand for vengeance.

The climax of the piece is a violent imprecation against the man who made known his place of hiding to Richard III. Buckingham, after he has swooned at the memory of his betrayal, cries out:

Thou, Banaster, gainst thee I clepe and call  
Unto the gods, that they iust vengeaunce take  
On thee, thy bloud, thy stayned stocke and all. . . .<sup>8</sup>

He goes on to pray that one of his betrayer's sons may die insane in a pigsty, that the other be drowned in a puddle of water, that his daughter become abhorrent with leprosy. This imprecation extends through fourteen stanzas; another fifteen stanzas are introduction and conclusion to it; and there are but one hundred and eleven stanzas in the whole poem.<sup>9</sup>

Whatever the connections with the classics may be, ghosts, revenge, and allegoric figures—the features of Kyd's drama—were thoroughly imbedded in English literature well before Kyd's day.

## II

It seems best to state now in bald terms the parallelism in the Ghost-Revenge machinery of *The Spanish tragedy* and the machinery of the embellished metrical tragedy. Revenge is a variation on the traditional guide and interpreter of the "marvelous journey." He is parallel with Sackville's Sorrow and with Virgil's Sibyl. He is unlike these in that he is guide for a ghost; in this respect, however, he is like

<sup>8</sup> *The complaint of the Duke of Buckingham*, stanza 93.

<sup>9</sup> It is possible that Sackville found suggestion for the revenge motif in Virgil; at least Buckingham is remarkably parallel with Deiphobus: both are given gruesome descriptions, both tell a tale of betrayal, and both ask for vengeance.

the guides of the metrical tragedies, like the personification, Fortune, who guided certain ghosts to Lydgate;<sup>10</sup> or, in *The mirror*, like Morpheus who guided from hell the ghosts which provide the whole first group of tragedies. A figure like Revenge is the natural result of the fusion of metrical tragedy and marvelous journey.

The Ghost is primarily an adventurer on a marvelous journey; he is led by a guide into a strange realm where he sees extraordinary events. His appearance with a guide on a "stage" was, of course, conventional in the metrical tragedies; but, though a return to the realm of the living is obviously a marvelous journey for the ghost, Kyd seems to be the first writer to stress the ghost's wonderment at what he sees. The Ghost's ancient rôle in the metrical tragedies—that of recounting his "fall"—is reduced to a few lines at the beginning of the play.

From the point of view of the Ghost, the central action of Kyd's drama provides the wondrous events which adventurers on miraculous journeys always beheld; and at the same time these events, in that they represent the downfall of princes, constitute a "tragedy." The Ghost, in the rôle of witness to events of a marvelous journey, does just what such witnesses always did: he tells a narrative of a journey through conventional scenes—the same scenes, in fact, as those of Sackville's "Induction." He becomes an amazed spectator of happenings in a realm completely different from his own. In these happenings he can foresee nothing; he shows no inclinations toward vengeance until, late in the play, he sees his friend murdered and his enemies flaunting their prosperity. The Ghost proves himself the most curious member of the audience. He is as much in need of a guide and interpreter as were all the other amazed witnesses to events of a marvelous journey.

There are, furthermore, within the body of the play, some very significant references to ghosts. The father and mother of Horatio, as the anguish at the murder of their son deepens upon them, begin to see visions in which the central figure is the ghost of the murdered Horatio. Isabella exclaims at one point:

See, where his ghoast solicites with his wounds  
Reuenge on her that should reuenge his death.

<sup>10</sup> *The fall of princes*, ed. Henry Bergen (London, 1924), Book VI. Note especially the description of Pompey (VI, 918-43).



Hieronimo, make haste to see thy sonne,  
 For Sorrow and Dispaire hath scited me  
 To heare Horatio plead with Radamant.<sup>11</sup>

Isabella is saying figuratively that she is going to die. But she also says that she is going on a marvelous journey and that Sorrow and Despair will be her guides. In other words, Kyd reproduces here the outline of a poem like Sackville's "Induction"—in which Sorrow is also the guide for the marvelous journey—in the form of a figure of speech. Moreover, in *The mirror*, the ghosts always appear as they do above—soliciting with their wounds, asking for notice of their deaths. And the foregoing passage, like several others in the play, shows conclusively that ghosts, guides, and personifications were inextricably bound together in Kyd's mind.

Seneca's treatment of ghosts, except for surface similarities, is entirely different from this of Kyd. Two parallels to Kyd occur in Seneca's *Agamemnon*, in which "Thyestis umbra" opens the play, and in his *Thyestes*, in which the first scene is shared between "Umbra Tantali" and Magaera. These ghosts are prologues who drop out of the play at the end of the scene, although Thyestes' influence might be said to hang over the whole of *Agamemnon*; as prologues they give information necessary for the understanding of the play and foreshadow its end. They are not the chorus. Kyd's Ghost is both a great deal more and a great deal less than a prologue. He is more, for he remains on the stage throughout the play, and he acts the rôle of the chief, and the most amazed, spectator of the action. He is less than a prologue, for he can give no information about the central action and cannot foresee its end; and it is not his influence that hangs over the tragedy, but that of Revenge. As for the function of the Ghost and Revenge as a chorus, it is fundamentally the same as that of the connecting links between the tragedies in *The mirror* of 1575, in which Higgins converses about the action with Morpheus; it is Senecan only in that it divides the play into five acts.

There is also a great contrast between these ghosts in regard to what they tell of their experiences after death. Andrea relates the allegorists' time-worn tale of a descent into hell—a rough outline of those of Aeneas, Lyndsay, and Sackville; he repeats the standard

<sup>11</sup> Spanish tragedy, IV, ii, 24 ff.

notes on the geography, the scenery, and the inhabitants of hell. Seneca is not interested in such a narrative.<sup>12</sup> Instead he mentions the horrors suffered by Tantalus, for instance, for the sake of showing in a figure the horror of the events which are about to take place, saying that the experience of Tantalus is nothing in comparison with what is going to happen. Seneca's ghosts present a series of terrible images for the single end of building up the horror of the matter which they are prologuizing. But Andrea's tale is an astonishing, almost gay, narrative. If Kyd had modeled his Ghost on Seneca, he could never have written:

Whereat faire Proserpine began to smile,  
And begd that onely she might giue my doome.  
Pluto was pleasd, and sealde it with a kisse.<sup>13</sup>

As for the connection of a ghost with a revenge theme—the final point in which Kyd has been judged to resemble Seneca—the real difference between the two authors lies in their dissimilar attitudes to revenge. For Seneca revenge results from a family curse of long duration; betrayal, murder, and incest in preceding generations are sources of his tragedies. And, as these sins reappear in the form of far-reaching consequences, one of the original participators in the sin is called up as an embodiment of the motivating force in the tragedy. Such are Seneca's ghosts. The ghost of Thyestes in *Agamemnon* is vengeful; but his machinations have caused the tragedy. The ghost of Tantalus is not vengeful; he is the unwilling victim of a Fury and regrets what must take place. With Kyd, on the other hand, the Ghost of Andrea, unlike Thyestes, has no responsibility for the tragedy; nor is he in any ordinary sense the victim of Revenge. Andrea, moreover, has no vengeful tendencies until he is inspired to them by the events which he is witnessing. This is of greatest significance. The revenge theme, which develops slowly in the mind of Hieronimo, develops with corresponding slowness in the mind of the Ghost. For a revenge movement to begin slowly and mount to a wild climax is foreign to Seneca, but it is the whole story of Kyd's play and the most striking characteristic of Sackville's "Buckingham."

<sup>12</sup> There is such a narrative in *Hercules furens* iii. 2. It is, however, not notably Senecan, it has no connection with ghosts, and it is not part of the "machinery" of the drama.

<sup>13</sup> *Spanish tragedy*, Induct. ll. 78 ff.

To summarize the argument of this paper: *The Spanish tragedy*, in form, stems from the metrical tragedies in that a ghost appears with a guide and begins telling a narrative of his life and death. This brief narrative completed, the Ghost immediately becomes the adventurer of the marvelous journey, the central action of the play being the marvelous events of the journey. The guide, in a fashion perfectly normal to the marvelous journey, interprets the events and personifies the underlying theme in them. Kyd simply combined "tragedy" and "journey."

Though Seneca is not responsible for that which is vital in the Ghost-Revenge features of *The Spanish tragedy*, he has of course left a certain mark on Kyd's work. There is the mechanical matter of the five acts with choruses. And there are lines scattered through the play—sententious truisms and perhaps splashes of rhetoric—which are lifted fairly literally either from the Senecan text or from the hoard of earlier borrowers. If it is objected that Elizabethans took enough interest in Seneca as a dramatist to translate and print him, the answer must be that Thomas Newton claims nothing for him as a writer of drama but only as a writer of matter notable for its morality, and that *The mirror for magistrates*, containing equally legitimate drama, went through six editions between 1555 and 1587, and acquired an enormous number of progeny. For Elizabethans, it is possible that Seneca was chiefly what he was for Dante, a *Seneca morale*. It is even possible that the moral side of him was proving somewhat shoddy.

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## USURY IN *THE MERCHANT OF VENICE*

THE character portrayal of Shakespeare shows the widest human sympathy, but Shylock is an exception. He is an object of loathing and contempt; he is depicted as unprincipled in business and unfeeling in his home. In the end he pays a terrible penalty, even more severe than does his prototype in *Il Pecorone*, the probable source of the play, or indeed in any of the other versions of the old folk tale;<sup>1</sup> and no one, not even the kindly Antonio, says a single word in his favor: the dramatist apparently expected his audience to be even more unsympathetic toward Shylock than toward the notorious Richard III, whose overthrow had brought to the throne the glorious House of Tudor. This unwonted *saeva indignatio* of Shakespeare is usually attributed to an anti-Semitism inherited from the Middle Ages and kept alive by the illegal presence of Jews in London and especially aroused at the time by the alleged attempt in 1594 of Lopez, the court physician, to poison the Queen. As a matter of fact, however, the prejudice of the Middle Ages must have been dying out, even in clerical circles,<sup>2</sup> for under Cromwell the Jews were permitted to return; moreover, such few Spaniards of Jewish descent as lived in London<sup>3</sup> had long since been converted to at least outward Catholic conformity, and so were indistinguishable from other Spaniards;<sup>4</sup> and the cause célèbre of Lopez, though perhaps the occasion for one or two anti-Jewish plays, is too far removed both from Shakespeare's character and from his plot to have furnished the chief motive for either.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See E. E. Stoll, *Shakespeare studies* (New York, 1927), p. 263; B. V. Wenger, "Shylocks Pfund Fleisch," *Shak. Jhrb.*, LXV, 92-174; and M. Schlauch, "The Pound of Flesh story in the North," *JEGP*, XXX, 388 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See John Foxe, *Sermon preached at the christening of a certaine Jew* (London, 1578) (Harvard Library). Although Foxe still charges that the Jews "murdered Christ" (sig. E iii), and notes "Christenmens children here in Englande crucified by the Jewes Anno 1189," yet he declares the race not "altogether forsaken of God" (sig. A viii), and reminds his hearers that "the very first yssues of our Christian faith sprang out of that stocke" (sig. B v).

<sup>3</sup> J. L. Cardozo, *The contemporary Jew in Elizabethan drama* (Amsterdam, 1925). The Jews had been banished from England in 1290; and unconverted Jews were still rigorously expelled as late as 1609 (pp. 36 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9 and *passim*. The Spanish Jews had generally submitted to conversion in 1492.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. L. L. Schücking, *Character problems* (London, 1922), p. 92. Lopez bears only slight

Shylock, the Machiavellian Jew, would seem, indeed, to have been a study not in Elizabethan realism but in Italian local color;<sup>6</sup> for Italy, especially Venice where the Jews were go-betweens in the Turkish trade,<sup>7</sup> had become, since their expulsion from Spain, their chief refuge in Western Europe. Merely as a Jew, therefore, Shylock could hardly call forth the contemptuous abhorrence manifest in the play, for that side of his character was the stuff of exotic romance; and, furthermore, Shakespeare's one appeal to the sympathy of the audience for Shylock is the latter's defense of his race and religion: "Hath not a *Jew* eyes? hath not a *Jew* hands, organs, dementions . . . ?"<sup>8</sup>

The conflict between Shylock and Antonio is not so much a matter of religion but rather of mercantile ideals, as Shylock declares in an aside at the entrance of Antonio:

I hate him for he is a Christian:  
But more, for that in low simplicitie  
He lends out money gratis, and brings downe  
The rate of vsance here with vs in *Venice*.<sup>9</sup>

The audience is amply informed that Shylock hates Antonio because the latter has called him "Usurer," and spat upon him, and "thwarted" his "bargaines";<sup>10</sup> and Antonio openly glories in having cast such slurs. Upon the Rialto he has railed at Shylock, not for religion, but for usury—as Shylock puts it, "all for vse of that which is mine owne."<sup>11</sup> In the crucial third act, Shylock twice reiterates this theme;<sup>12</sup> and Antonio himself assures the audience:

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relation to the Jews of Elizabethan drama. But two of them were physicians; and the tradition started before him, and ended long after (Cardozo, p. 195, etc.). Apparently, no one thought of Lopez as a Jew until his trial; and the tradition of Shylock's red wig, if trustworthy, suggests a relation to the Judas legend rather than to the Spanish Lopez.

<sup>6</sup> Schücking, p. 92; Cardozo, pp. 53, 238-39, 329; R. Voldeba, "Over de Shylock-figuur," *Neophilologus*, XIV, 196 ff.; T. Gainsford, *The glory of England* (1622), p. 268; and H. Smith (1550?-91), *Examination of usury* ([London?], 1751), 7; Coryat (*Crudities* [London, 1611], p. 234) distinguishes between the actual Venetian Jews and the English idea of them; and Shylock belongs in the latter category.

<sup>7</sup> *Shakespeare's England* (Oxford, 1917), I, 217.

<sup>8</sup> *The merchant of Venice*, ed. Furness, III, i, 53 ff. For Venetian local color in Shylock, see C. Roth, "The background of Shylock," *RES*, IX, 148 ff.

*Ibid.*, I, iii, 42 ff. The first italics are mine. This predominance of usury in Shylock was noted by Hunter and Lloyd (S. A. Small, *Shakespearean character interpretation* [Baltimore, 1927], p. 30), and by Stoll (p. 265).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, III, i, 43 and 51.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, I, iii, 117.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, III, i, 121 ff.; iii, 4.

He seekes my life, his reason well I know;  
 I oft deliuered from his forfeitures  
 Many that haue at times made mone to me,  
 Therefore he hates me.<sup>13</sup>

Race and religion, then, are not the main theme of the play;<sup>14</sup> it is rather conflicting economic ideals.<sup>15</sup> In Elizabethan parlance, "usurer" meant anyone who took even the lowest interest on money.<sup>16</sup> Antonio follows the medieval ideal, and, like Chaucer's Merchant, is supposed "neither to lend nor borrow"<sup>17</sup> at interest; and Shylock, like the modern capitalist, makes interest the very basis of his business.

Again and again, in Shakespeare, this allusion to usury recurs, and commonly with a fling at its un-Christian ethics and its bitter consequences. It is "forbidden";<sup>18</sup> and the usurer is a simile of shame;<sup>19</sup> the citizens in *Coriolanus* are outraged that the senators pass "edicts for usury to support usurers";<sup>20</sup> and *Timon* is full of attacks upon the system as undermining the Christian virtues and the state.<sup>21</sup> In other Elizabethan dramatists also<sup>22</sup> the usurer is a common object of hatred shading into contemptuous ridicule. Partly classical, partly medieval<sup>23</sup> in origin, he is often, like Vice in the old Morality plays,<sup>24</sup> both wicked and comic: Shylock is clearly in this tradition,<sup>25</sup> and follows directly upon Marlowe's Barabas, who also combines moneylender and Italianate Jew. The widespread currency of this theme and the in-

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, III, iii, 25 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Even Jessica's elopement with a Christian was hardly as important to Shylock as the money she stole.

<sup>15</sup> When the present study was almost completed, the writer came upon the similar suggestion of H. W. Farnam (*Shakespeare's economics* [New Haven, 1931], pp. 4-5, reprinted from the *Yale review*, April, 1913).

<sup>16</sup> See *NED*, s.v.

<sup>17</sup> *Merchant of Venice*, I, iii, 61-62.

<sup>18</sup> *Sonnets*, VI, 5.

<sup>19</sup> E.g., *Lear*, III, ii, 89, and IV, vi, 167; *Timon*, II, ii, 75 ff.; *Measure for measure*, III, ii, 7. Friar Lawrence refers to usurers' ill-gotten wealth (*Romeo*, III, iii, 123); and Autolycus pictures them as begrudging, like Shylock, their servants' food (*Winter's tale*, IV, iv, 254-56).

<sup>20</sup> *Coriolanus*, I, i, 84 ff.

<sup>21</sup> *Timon*, II, ii, 62 and *passim*. See the present writer, "The theme of 'Timon of Athens,'" *MLR*, XXIX (1934), 20 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Stonex (*PMLA*, XXXI, 190) lists seventy-one plays, 1553-1637.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 191-93; and W. Reinicke, *Der Wucherer im alteren eng. Drama* (Halle, 1907), p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> See J. D. Rea, "Shylock and the Processus Bellal," *PQ*, VIII, 311 ff.

<sup>25</sup> See Stoll, p. 255; and "Shylock," *JEGP*, X, 235 ff.



tensity of emotion that it aroused suggest that it could not have been purely a dramatic convention,<sup>26</sup> and that it struck closer home to the Elizabethans than a mere medieval tradition or a bit of Venetian local color. Like the *miles gloriosus*, the Elizabethan usurer owes something to Latin comedy; but, like Falstaff,<sup>27</sup> Shylock is more than a classical survival: if not a characteristic London type, he at least exemplified an immediate and crying problem, the iniquity of English usurers and the interest that they charged; and this theme in *The merchant of Venice* can hardly be the accidental petrified remains of Shakespeare's "clerical predecessor," the author of the lost play *The Jew*,<sup>28</sup> for it is too prominent both in this and in other plays by Shakespeare.

Indeed, the question of the moral and the legal justification of interest came close home to every Elizabethan, and was crucial in the transition from feudal society to modern capitalism. The hardships of this transition appear in the "misery and squalor" of the age.<sup>29</sup> Gold was pouring into Europe from America;<sup>30</sup> prices were rising, and merchants grew rich,<sup>31</sup> but classes with fixed incomes suffered intensely. The rural aristocracy, whom political life was drawing to London, could no longer live directly off the produce of their estates, but required ample supplies of ready money,<sup>32</sup> which they had to borrow at an interest inflated by competition with the merchants who could afford to pay exorbitant rates.<sup>33</sup> Even miners, weavers, and other

<sup>26</sup> Schücking, p. 92.

<sup>27</sup> See the present writer, "Sir John Falstaff," *RES*, October, 1932.

<sup>28</sup> Cardozo, p. 309. Of course, usury is incidental to Barabas.

<sup>29</sup> R. H. Tawney, *The agrarian problem in the sixteenth century* (London, 1912), p. 193; and his "Introduction" to T. Wilson's *Discourse upon usury* (New York, 1925) (hereafter referred to as "Introduction"); K. L. Gregg, *Thomas Dekker* ("U. of Wash. Pub." [Seattle, 1924]), p. 55; E. P. Cheyney, *History of England from the defeat of the Armada* (New York, 1926), II, 35.

<sup>30</sup> T. Dekker, *Works*, ed. Grosart, IV, 87: *Works for armourours* (1609?).

<sup>31</sup> Tawney, "Introduction," pp. 155 ff. On the attitude of the merchant see G. de Malynes, *Englands view* (London, 1603) (Brit. Mus.), p. 162, and *Treatise of the canker of Englands commonwealth* (London, 1601) (Brit. Mus.), p. 120.

<sup>32</sup> *Cyuite and vncyuite life* (1579), ed. Hazlitt, *Inedited tracts* ("Rox. Lib." [1868]), p. 59; and Tawney, "Introduction," pp. 31 ff.

<sup>33</sup> Marlowe's Barabas charged 100 per cent (*Jew of Malta*, IV, i, 41 ff.). As the profits from trade might run from 150 to 250 per cent, the merchant could afford to pay 80 per cent on loans (W. Besant, *Tudor London* [London, 1904], p. 238). Sometimes Elizabeth paid 12 per cent, with bonuses for extension from 1 to 3 per cent (H. Hall, *Elizabethan age* [London, 1886], p. 64); and, even as late as 1636, 15 and 20 per cent were common in England (Malynes, *Consuetudo* [London, 1636] [Huntington Lib.], p. 221).



classes of artisans worked on small loans often at ruinous interest.<sup>34</sup> The increasing need for large capital, both in industry and in commerce, required similar large-scale organization of finance;<sup>35</sup> and the devolution of the medieval guilds, begun by the exactions of Henry VII and continued during the sixteenth century, put much of this business into the hands of almost unregulated individuals or of new organizations. The players themselves sometimes had reason to be bitter at the demands of Henslowe and others who supplied them with buildings and furnishings;<sup>36</sup> and thus both audience and actors had personal motives for hating the usurer.

The policy of the government was fluctuating: of necessity, it was a constant borrower itself;<sup>37</sup> and yet the church,<sup>38</sup> the Bible,<sup>39</sup> and the classics<sup>40</sup> stood utterly opposed to interest; and the outrageous exactions of many usurers had inflamed public opinion.<sup>41</sup> In 1543 all former legislation against usury was repealed; 10 per cent was legalized; and severe penalties were placed on the common chicaneries by which this rate might be actually increased.<sup>42</sup> Shortly after, in the reign of Edward VI, this law was repealed; but in time an outcry arose against the "lack of penal statutes against usurers";<sup>43</sup> and, in 1570, the government again attempted regulation. Under the name of an act against usury, Elizabeth legalized 10 per cent,<sup>44</sup> a very moderate rate, but still declared the taking of any interest to be a sin.<sup>45</sup> Even the government apparently dared not too openly defy popular opinion.

<sup>34</sup> *Shakespeare's England*, I, 332 ff.; Stubbes, *Anatomie* ("New Shak. Soc." [1882]), Part II, pp. 21 ff.; Tawney, "Introduction," pp. 25 ff., 43 ff.

<sup>35</sup> See Cunningham in *CHEL*, IV, 357; R. D. Richards, *Early banking in England* (London, 1929), p. 2.

<sup>36</sup> T. W. Baldwin, *Shakespearean company* (Princeton, 1927), pp. 16 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Hall, pp. 59 ff.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52; Cardozo, p. 313; and *The English usurer, or usury condemned by the most learned divines*, ed. John Blaxton (Oxford, 1634) (Yale Lib.).

<sup>39</sup> For texts see Cardozo, pp. 310-11, and Stonex, *Schelling ann. papers*, p. 263, etc.

<sup>40</sup> E.g., Aristotle *Politics* I. 10. 4 and 11. 1; also Cato, Cicero, etc.

<sup>41</sup> See Lodge, *Looking glasse* (London, 1617); also Tawney, "Introduction," pp. 36 ff.

<sup>42</sup> C. Viner, *General abridgment* (Aldershot [1758]), XXII, 291 ff.

<sup>43</sup> P. Caesar, *Discourse against usurers* (London, 1578) (Huntington Lib.), p. 7 (ed. princ., 1569).

<sup>44</sup> Viner, XXII, 295-96; M. Bacon, *New abridgment* (Philadelphia, 1811), VII, 188 ff.; D. Pickering, *Statutes* (Cambridge, 1763), VI, 276.

<sup>45</sup> Cunningham, p. 359; cf. Besant, p. 238.

This general bitterness against usury appears both in scattered literary allusion and in formally reasoned polemics. Stonex has found it in Stubbes, Lodge, Greene, Nashe, Chapman, Rowlands, Jonson, Middleton, Dekker, Shirley, and others.<sup>46</sup> Barnfield was caustic;<sup>47</sup> Overbury called usurers "Devillish";<sup>48</sup> Rowley termed them "living carrion";<sup>49</sup> Adams declared them the servants of Satan;<sup>50</sup> and Nashe described the times as "the dayes of sathan" when money will "beare any price."<sup>51</sup> The polemics, written chiefly by divines,<sup>52</sup> draw arguments both from authority and from contemporary conditions. Philip Caesar quotes at length from the Bible, Aristotle, Cato, and Roman law,<sup>53</sup> adds the early Church Fathers<sup>54</sup> and Luther and Melanchthon,<sup>55</sup> and declares that usury enriches men without work,<sup>56</sup> and that since there is no wear in lending, no price should be paid.<sup>57</sup> Warton declared usury against the Bible and oppressive to the poor.<sup>58</sup> Lodge exposed the whole system by which a "Solicitous" would frequent taverns, allure "Novices" to borrow at ruinous rates, help them riot the money away, demand the indorsement of friends and relatives at each extension of the loan, and so in the final forfeiture impoverish whole families.<sup>59</sup> Henry Smith, the popular preacher of the day, delivered and printed in London a *Sermon* branding usury as against the law of nations, against the law of nature, and against the law of God.<sup>60</sup> He noted the customary evasions of the Elizabethan statute, and ended with a rebuttal of opposing arguments. Similar in rationale are the six sermons on the topic by Mosse: usury ruins the individual and the state, and all authority condemns it.<sup>61</sup> Such is the

<sup>46</sup> See Stonex in *Schelling ann. papers*.

<sup>47</sup> R. Barnfield, *Works*, ed. Grosart (London, 1876), pp. 142, 179.

<sup>48</sup> T. Overbury, *Characters* (London, 1856), p. 133.

<sup>49</sup> W. Rowley, *Search for money* ("Percy Soc." [London, 1840]), pp. 15 ff.

<sup>50</sup> T. Adams, *The devills banquet* (London, 1614) (Huntington Lib.), p. 9.

<sup>51</sup> T. Nashe, *Works*, ed. McKerrow (London, 1910), II, 162.

<sup>52</sup> See Malynes, p. 217; Lodge, *Alarum*, ed. Hunt. Club, I, 44; and Henry Smith (1550?-91), *Examination of usury* ([London], 1751), p. 23.

<sup>53</sup> P. Caesar, leaf 11.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, leaf 21.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, leaf 6.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, leaf 22.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, leaf 11.

<sup>58</sup> [John] Wharton's *dream* (London, 1578) (Brit. Mus.).

<sup>59</sup> Lodge, *Alarum*, p. 49.

<sup>60</sup> H. Smith, *Examination of usury*.

<sup>61</sup> M. Mosse, *The arraignment and conviction of esurie* (London, 1595).

reasoning in Sanders,<sup>62</sup> in *The death of vsury*,<sup>63</sup> in Pie,<sup>64</sup> and in Fenton.<sup>65</sup> As late as 1615 Digges contrasted "well-minded Merchants," such as Antonio, with usurers who, like "greedy Caterpillars," prey upon society.<sup>66</sup>

Until after 1600 there were no published polemics on the other side; but one can gather the verbal excuses of usurers from the clerical rebuttals. Some permissive authority was found in the Bible<sup>67</sup> and in Calvin's *Epistle*.<sup>68</sup> The custom was defended as necessary for the support of widows and orphans who could not otherwise derive profit from their funds;<sup>69</sup> it was widespread,<sup>70</sup> and so became an economic necessity for all;<sup>71</sup> often it was mutually helpful;<sup>72</sup> surely money should not be kept from legitimate business;<sup>73</sup> and, finally, the law of the realm permitted 10 per cent.<sup>74</sup> The first fully reasoned defense of interest would seem to be Bacon's "Of usury,"<sup>75</sup> in which, with remarkable clarity of vision, he sees the struggle not as a matter of religious authority but as a class conflict between the mercantile and the agrarian interests.<sup>76</sup>

Shakespeare, however, took the regular attitude of the 1590's. Indeed, most revelatory of the dramatist's point of view are the excuses that Shylock gives for his trade: they are not the arguments just summarized, but the very reasons urged most bitterly against it. Like the devil, he quotes Scripture to his purpose,<sup>77</sup> though the audience doubtless had by memory more than one text that forbade it. He parodies Aristotle's attack on usury as if it were an argument in

<sup>62</sup> N. Sanders, *Briefe treatise of vsurie* (London, 1568) (Brit. Mus.).

<sup>63</sup> *The Death of vsury, or, the disgrace of vsurers* (London, 1594) (Brit. Mus.).

<sup>64</sup> T. Pie, *Usurers' apright coniuired* (London, 1604) (Brit. Mus.).

<sup>65</sup> R. Fenton, *Treatise of vsurie* (London, 1611), p. 109.

<sup>66</sup> D. Digges, *The defence of trade* (London, 1615) (Brit. Mus.), p. 2.

<sup>67</sup> Pie, p. 21 and *passim*; Smith, pp. 5, 13 ff.; Fenton, pp. 33 ff.

<sup>68</sup> Smith, title-page; Fenton, p. 60.

<sup>69</sup> Smith, pp. 13 ff.; Fenton, pp. 33 ff.

<sup>70</sup> Smith, p. 4, etc.; Fenton, pp. 33 ff.

<sup>71</sup> Fenton, pp. 33 ff.

<sup>72</sup> Smith, pp. 13 ff.; Pie, pp. 22 ff.; Fenton, pp. 33 ff.

<sup>73</sup> Smith, pp. 13 ff.; Pie, pp. 22 ff.

<sup>74</sup> Smith, pp. 13 ff.

<sup>75</sup> Essay XLI. See also Essay XXVIII. How would Baconians explain this utter difference from Shakespeare's attitude?

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Lodge, *Alarum*, I, 13.

<sup>77</sup> *Merchant of Venice*, I, iii, 74 ff.

favor.<sup>78</sup> He declares that he is unjustly hated "all for use of that which is mine owne";<sup>79</sup> and anyone would have told him that since a usurer's goods were got by a sort of theft, they were not his own.<sup>80</sup> Of course, it was this feeling on the part of the audience that justified the treatment of Shylock at the dénouement. He calls Antonio a "prodigall,"<sup>81</sup> though the term is clearly misapplied; for usurers preyed on the youthful heirs of noble families, and so, to the horror of the age, brought ruin on ancient houses. He hates Antonio for reducing the rate of interest "here with us in Venice,"<sup>82</sup> and so upholds the extortionate charges of the day. With a callous presumption, he publicly demands "justice" for his compounded iniquities; he calls upon his oath in a "heaven"<sup>83</sup> whose law he flouts; and he claims the support of the Venetian commonwealth, whose well-being his practices were supposed to undermine.<sup>84</sup> To the Elizabethans all this was mordant casuistry; and, by making Shylock himself call up almost every argument against his own way of life, Shakespeare, with keen dramatic irony, implies that not one honest word can be said in his favor. For Shylock the Jew, there is no such rationale of bitterness; and so utter and thorough a philippic must surely have been intentional.<sup>85</sup>

Not only does *The merchant of Venice* reflect the Elizabethan attitude toward interest, but the details of the play constantly refer to current business customs. Such a "merry bond,"<sup>86</sup> signed under pretense of friendliness,<sup>87</sup> was not without precedent in actual fact. Bassanio, to seal the bargain, follows the usual etiquette of asking the lender to dine;<sup>88</sup> and later Shylock actually goes to a feast, like a

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, I, iii, 74 ff.; cf. Cardozo, pp. 310 ff.

<sup>79</sup> *Merchant of Venice*, I, iii, 117.

<sup>80</sup> E.g., P. Caesar, p. 6.

<sup>81</sup> *Merchant of Venice*, III, i, 41.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, I, iii, 42.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, i, 238.

<sup>84</sup> See the present writer "The theme of 'Timon of Athens,'" *MLR*, XXIX (1934), 20 ff.

<sup>85</sup> If the present theory is correct, one need not suppose that Shylock represents the Huguenot and Dutch refugees in London (A. Tretliak, *RES*, V, 402). Why should a Machiavellian Jew stand for the Protestants to whom England had given hospitable refuge? How had they capital for moneylending; and, if they did, why do not those who attack the practice brand it as foreign rather than admit its being done by Londoners "of very good respect"? See Smith, p. 4; Fenton, p. 108; Stowe, *Survey* (London, 1618), p. 233. Cf. Tawney, "Introduction."

<sup>86</sup> Hall, p. 53.

<sup>87</sup> Overbury, p. 134.

<sup>88</sup> *Merchant of Venice*, I, iii, 32, etc.; cf. Hall, p. 65.

true usurer, to help use up the borrowed sum and so insure a forfeiture.<sup>89</sup> The accounts of Sir Thomas Gresham show that in Antwerp alone the feasting of Queen Elizabeth's creditors cost him £25 a year.<sup>90</sup> Shylock, moreover, carefully avoids the term "usury," is insulted at being called a "usurer,"<sup>91</sup> and, with an exquisite delicacy, objects even to having his "well won thrift" described as "interest"—though this euphemism was commonly allowed by contemporary moneylenders.<sup>92</sup> London usurers—perhaps because they had risen from poverty by extreme penuriousness—were supposed to run their households in a stingy, not to say starvling, expenditure;<sup>93</sup> and Shylock and Gobbo mutually complain of each other in this regard.<sup>94</sup> Usurers regularly wished the forfeiture rather than the repayment of the loan; and in Lodge's *Looking-glasse*, the young gentleman, like Bassanio, offers much more than the nominated sum; but the moneylender, like Shylock, refuses and demands the forfeiture. Contemporary London, therefore, would seem to have supplied both the commercial decorum and the business trickery of Shakespeare's Venice; and this suggests that the dramatist intended to bring before his audience with immediate realism his economic theme.

Even the idealized Antonio reflects Elizabethan London. He "was wont to lend out money for a Christian curtsie,"<sup>95</sup> according to the highest ethics of the age; and he was not without living prototypes. In 1571 the House of Commons considered a bill to establish banks to loan money at a mere 6 per cent;<sup>96</sup> a few years later one Stephen Parrott projected a bank that would make loans for pure Christian brotherhood, "a good, godly and charrytable work";<sup>97</sup> and, as late as 1598, Berwick-on-Tweed made pawnbroking a town monopoly in order to reduce the exactions of creditors.<sup>98</sup> The comparison of An-

<sup>89</sup> See Lodge, *Alarum*; Harrison, *Description* (London, 1587), Book II, chap. v, etc. Cf. J. U. Neff, *Rise of the British coal industry*, II, 33 ff.

<sup>90</sup> Hall, p. 65.

<sup>91</sup> *MERCHANT OF VENICE*, III, i, 43 ff.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, I, ii, 50 ff. Apparently he preferred "usance" or "advantage"; cf. Smith, p. 22.

<sup>93</sup> T. Adams, *Diseases of the soul* (London, 1616), p. 30; Overbury, pp. 134, 151-53.

<sup>94</sup> *MERCHANT OF VENICE*, II, ii, 101, 152; II, v, 49.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, III, iii, 5, 25, etc.

<sup>96</sup> Tawney, "Introduction," pp. 125, 159.

<sup>97</sup> R. H. Tawney and E. Power, *Tudor economic documents* (London, 1924), pp. 370 ff.

<sup>98</sup> Tawney, "Introduction," pp. 126-27.

tonio to a "royal Merchant"<sup>99</sup> suggests England as well as Venice;<sup>100</sup> for the London merchants had grown rich, and in their "comely entertainment" were not to be "matched by any foreign opposition."<sup>101</sup> Hunter, on Shylock's word, declared that Antonio condemned interest "through simplicity," and that, as Shylock says, he was a "prodigal" wasting an ample patrimony;<sup>102</sup> but the dramatist clearly expects us to admire his probity rather than condemn his ignorance and waste. Even Cardozo<sup>103</sup> thinks him an "angelic simpleton" for signing the bond. As a matter of fact, Antonio knew well the exactions of usurers, and realized that if he would accommodate his friend, he must accept hard terms. Elsewhere he appears as a skilful merchant who does not risk his "whole estate Upon the fortune of this present yeere";<sup>104</sup> and, like a shrewd man of affairs, he does not seem overanxious early in the play to divulge his business secrets. He is, indeed, the ideal merchant, very much as Othello<sup>105</sup> and Henry V are the ideal of army life; and, just as Shakespeare heightened his effect by contrasting Hotspur and Prince Hal with the poltroonery of Falstaff,<sup>106</sup> so, in *The merchant of Venice*, he put Shylock and Antonio side by side as comparative studies in business ethics.

Shylock the Jew was merely exotic local color; Shylock the usurer was a commentary on London life.<sup>107</sup> The moneylender had been hated for centuries; and, in Shakespeare's day, the difficult transition from the medieval economic system to modern capitalism especially subjected both rich and poor to his exactions. Efforts to find realism in Shylock have generally looked to Venice or the Orient<sup>108</sup>—regions of which Shakespeare knew none too much and the groundlings even

<sup>99</sup> *Merchant of Venice*, IV, i, 33.

<sup>100</sup> See Lodge, *Alarem*, I, 13; Harrison, Book II, ch. v; and H. Peacham, *Coach and sedan* (London, 1925) (ed. princ. 1636).

<sup>101</sup> T. Gainsford, *The glory of England* (London, 1622), p. 249. One must discount something for the obvious chauvinism of the author.

<sup>102</sup> *Merchant of Venice*, ed. Furness, p. 444; cf. I, iii, 40.

<sup>103</sup> P. 324.

<sup>104</sup> *Merchant of Venice*, I, i, 48-49; cf. I, i, 187.

<sup>105</sup> See the present writer, "Captain General Othello," *Anglia*, XLIII, 296 ff.

<sup>106</sup> See the present writer, "Sir John Falstaff," *RES*, VIII (1932), 414 ff.

<sup>107</sup> The theory that Antonio is a prototype of Heraclitus seems to be supported only by his initial melancholy (G. C. Taylor, "Is Antonio the 'Weeping Philosopher?'" *MP*, XXVI, 161 ff.). Is Antonio a philosopher?

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Schroer; W. Creizenach, *Shak. Jhrb.*, LI, 171 ff.; B. V. Wenger, *Shak. Jhrb.*, LXV, 92 ff. Cf. the present writer in the *Shak. Jhrb.*, LXII, 125 ff.

less: the crux of the play is nearer home; and it reflects the current uses of commercial life and the current attitude toward them. Nevertheless, *The merchant of Venice* is not strictly a problem play like *All's well*,<sup>109</sup> or even mainly one as is *Othello*,<sup>110</sup> for it is written *ex parte*; to Shakespeare there is but one answer, and so there is no problem; and, moreover, the old stories upon which it is founded dictated a happy ending that forbade the logical conclusion of the theme and kept the play a romantic comedy; but, to the Elizabethans, it had a verve and realism that is lost upon the present reader. Just as the stories of the romances were changed and reinterpreted century by century, so Shakespeare gave timely significance and telling vividness to his borrowed origins; and this intensified reality is perhaps his chief contribution to Elizabethan drama. Usually the matrix from which his play developed was a plot, as in *King Lear*; sometimes both plot and character, as in *Henry V*; and, on this matrix, he built a drama that, almost certainly in details of setting and style and often in motivation and theme, shows the immediate impress of his age. *Julius Caesar* is full of English setting;<sup>111</sup> the background and motives of Desdemona are thoroughly Elizabethan;<sup>112</sup> in *Twelfth Night* he transplanted an English household and staff of servants to the confines of Illyria;<sup>113</sup> the character of Falstaff is a realistic foil to the romantic wars of chivalry;<sup>114</sup> and, in *Merry wives*, even the plot would seem to have been borrowed from common contemporary situations. *The merchant of Venice* is a romantic comedy built of old folk material, to which has been added a realistic theme and motivation; and this theme, although Shakespeare has not yet learned to make it entirely implicit in his plot, obviously portrays the downfall of hated usury and the triumph of Christian charity in the person of a princely merchant.

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<sup>109</sup> See W. W. Lawrence, *Shakespeare's problem comedies* (New York, 1931).

<sup>110</sup> See the present writer, "This poor trash of Venice," *JEGP*, XXX, 508 ff., and "Honest Iago," *PMLA*, XLVI, 724 ff.

<sup>111</sup> See the present writer, "The realism of Shakespeare's Roman plays," *SP*, XXX (1933), 225 ff.

<sup>112</sup> See the present writer, "Desdemona: a compound of two cultures," *RLC*, XIII, 337 ff.

<sup>113</sup> See the present writer, "Olivia's household," *PMLA*, XLIX (1934), 797 ff.

<sup>114</sup> See the present writer, "Sir John Falstaff," *RES*, VIII (1932), 414 ff.







## ON MILTON'S EARLY LITERARY PROGRAM

IN JOHN MILTON'S anti-Episcopal tract, *The reason of church government*, there is a deservedly famous passage which almost everyone agrees in calling a statement of literary program. In the first edition of his *Milton handbook*, J. H. Hanford pointed out that *Paradise lost* is a fulfilment of the "diffuse" epic, *Paradise regained* of the "brief model," and *Samson agonistes* of the "Dramatick constitutions" mentioned in the tract. And "the writing of all three," he concluded, "represents a complete fulfillment of Milton's program."<sup>1</sup> E. M. W. Tillyard rightly questioned the word "complete," and also questioned "Hanford's larger theory, held by him too rigidly, that Milton's mind was settled and stopped growing at an early age and that his writings are a fulfilment alone, not a development."<sup>2</sup> Hanford had ignored the "other projects" mentioned: a pastoral drama, the "magnifick Odes and Hymns." Hanford, who might have replied that *Comus* was a fulfilment of the pastoral, and the choruses of *Samson* a fulfilment of the odes, has evidently now accepted Tillyard's correction.<sup>3</sup>

As it happens, I must record my disagreement with both Tillyard and Hanford—indeed, with all those writers who either state or imply that Milton gave us, in this pamphlet, a definite statement of program. And since too much harm has already been done by the partial quotation of the passage in question, I venture to give it in full:

Time serves not now, and perhaps I might seem too profuse to give any certain account of what the mind at home in the spacious circuits of her musing hath liberty to propose to her self, though of highest hope, and hardest attempting, whether that Epick form whereof the two poems of *Homer*, and those other two of *Virgil* and *Tasso* are a diffuse, and the book of *Iob* a brief model: or whether the rules of *Aristotle* herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be follow'd, which in them that know art, and use judgement is no transgression, but an enriching of art. And lastly what K. or knight before the conquest might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian *Heroe*. And as *Tasso* gave to a Prince of *Italy* his choise whether he would command him to write of *Godfreys* expedition against the infidels, or *Belisarius* against the

<sup>1</sup> P. 213.

<sup>2</sup> *Milton*, p. 330.

<sup>3</sup> See the revised edition of the *Handbook*, p. 243.

Goths, or *Charlemain* against the Lombards; if to the instinct of nature and the imboldning of art ought may be trusted, and that there be nothing advers in our climat, or the fate of this age, it haply would be no rashnesse from an equal diligence and inclination to present the like offer in our own ancient stories. Or whether those Dramatick constitutions, wherein *Sophocles* and *Euripides* raigne shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a Nation, the Scripture also affords us a divine pastoral Drama in the Song of *Salomon* consisting of two persons and a double *Chorus*, as *Origen* rightly judges. And the Apocalyps of Saint *Iohn* is the majestic image of a high and stately Tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn Scenes and Acts with a sevenfold *Chorus* of halleluja's and harping symphonies: and this my opinion the grave authority of *Pareus* commenting that booke is sufficient to confirm. Or if occasion shall lead to imitat those magnifick Odes and Hymns wherein *Pindarus* and *Callimachus* are in most things worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their matter most and end faulty: But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition may be easily made appear over all the kinds of Lyrick poesy, to be incomparable. These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired guift of God rarely bestow'd, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every Nation: and are of power beside the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of vertu, and publick civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune, to celebrate in glorious and lofty Hymns the throne and equipage of Gods Almightynesse, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his Church, to sing the victorious agnies of Martyrs and Saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious Nations doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ, to deplore the general relapses of Kingdoms and States from justice and Gods true worship. Lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in vertu amiable, or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is call'd fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and reflexes of a mans thoughts from within, all these things with a solid and treatable smoothnesse to paint out and describe.<sup>4</sup>

This is the passage; and the mistake which commentators have made, I think, is their failure to remember that these words are part of an anti-Episcopal tract. If this simple fact, with all its implications, be borne in mind, it will be clear immediately that only three literary forms are discussed—and the “brief epic” is not among them. I concede the fascination of finding, in 1641, an anticipation of *Paradise regained*; but the “discovery” is not warranted by the facts.

<sup>4</sup> 1641 ed., pp. 38–39; *Prose works* (Bohn ed.), II, 478–79.

Let us put the matter very simply. Milton is writing on the theme of church government. His readers are religious—the sympathetic ones extremely strict in their views. With characteristic *naïveté* he decides to confide, to this audience of Puritans and Presbyterians, his still vague but very precious literary aspirations. As a student of the classics, he knows that his models will be chiefly Greek. As an earnest Christian, he knows that he must vindicate his respect for heathen authors. The situation is somewhat analogous to that which prompted the preface to *Samson agonistes*; and the tone of both passages, it is important to notice, is essentially apologetic. Commentators on the latter have been quick to realize that the references to gravity and morality, to Gregory Nazianzen and the apostle Paul, to Revelation and I Corinthians, are made to vindicate the imitation of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. But similarly, in *The reason of church government*, Milton is suggesting religious sanction for the three great literary forms which, as an aspirant to poetic honors, he must consider.<sup>5</sup>

First of all there is the epic. Homer and Virgil are his inevitable models. But Homer and Virgil were heathens; so he must mention the author of *Gerusalemme liberata*. Then, as if Tasso were not sanction enough, he further cites “the book of *Iob*”—“a brief model.” This mention of the Bible as a source of models for great literary forms is quite consistent with his discussion of odes and dramas. Furthermore, the fact that he has no intention of writing a short epic is perfectly apparent from the remarks which follow. He questions whether the rules of Aristotle (another heathen!) should “strictly be kept”; and he wonders “what K. or knight before the conquest might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian *Heroe*.” It is a single hero, let us notice—not a hero for the diffuse epic and another for the brief.

The second literary form is the drama. Milton speaks of “Dramatick”—not specifically *tragic*—constitutions (although Sophocles and Euripides “raigne”); for one of his justifications in Scripture is “a divine pastoral Drama.” Another, however, is “the majestic image of a high and stately Tragedy”; and the authority of Origen and Paraeus is cited to disarm criticism.

<sup>5</sup> Milton is also letting us catch a glimpse of his mind at work. Characteristically, he is probably convincing himself in the act of trying to convince his readers.

As for the ode, Pindar and Callimachus are Milton's probable models; but "those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets" prove that the writing of odes is something not unbecoming a Christian. As a matter of fact, he assures his religious reader, the biblical odes are "incomparable" even in technical excellence.

Why, then, with so many possible models in the Bible, consider the Greeks at all? Milton has foreseen the question: "These abilities, *wheresoever they be found*, are the inspired gift of God rarely bestow'd, but yet *to some* (though most abuse) *in every Nation*." I have italicized certain words in this sentence in order to emphasize what seems to me clear: that Milton is arguing for an interpretation of Homer's talent—and the talent of Virgil, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Pindar, and Callimachus—as the gift of a Christian God. The subject matter of their work may in some respects be deplorable, but their art is divinely inspired, and hence worthy of imitation. Milton himself proposes to follow it for Christian and moral purposes. He cleverly removes the Puritan distrust of art by saying: "These abilities . . . are of power beside the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of vertu, and publick civility." Literature, though based upon heathen models, may perform the function of a Christian pulpit, provided the subjects are right. What are the subjects he has in mind? An English "pattern of a Christian *Heroe*" is one. There is also a dim prefigurement of *Paradise lost*: "to celebrate . . . the throne and equipage of Gods Almightynesse, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence." Can *Samson agonistes* be the "fulfilment" of his early desire to "sing the victorious agonies of Martyrs and Saints"? The inference is tempting. And it becomes more so when we realize that the closing words of this passage are a possible allusion to the oldest theme in tragedy—man and Fate. "Whatsoever," writes Milton, "hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is call'd fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and refluxes of a mans thoughts from within, all these things with a solid and treatable smoothnesse to paint out and describe."

Actually, however, it is impossible to infer that Milton had any of his later compositions in mind. It is unreasonable, moreover, to as-

sume that this is a definite statement of program. The words, "whether . . . . Or whether . . . . Or," if they have any meaning at all, indicate that late in 1641 Milton was still uncertain about which literary form he would adopt. He may have had in mind an epic, a drama, or an ode—or all three. He may even, as Tillyard plausibly suggests, have meant also to write in prose.<sup>6</sup> From *The reason of church government* it is impossible to tell. The real significance of this famous passage lies, not in a revelation of Milton's literary program, but in the light it throws on a Christian poet's attitude toward his art.

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<sup>6</sup> *Milton*, pp. 108-9.



THE RHETORICAL PATTERN OF  
NEO-CLASSICAL WIT

THE creation patent of the neo-classical couplet offers as many difficulties as Charles II presented Dugdale in the *Baronage of England*. Where the seventeenth century settled upon Waller and his second, Denham, we have wavered from Waller to Sandys, Jonson, Drayton, Sir John Beaumont, and others. If we cannot determine the author of this "invention," then our indecision itself may be significant, for it suggests that the urges of the neo-classical couplet were in the air, and manifested themselves occasionally in various poets, being most persistent in Waller. To explain the coming of age of the neo-classical couplet, perhaps the most significant fact is that when the earlier writers approached this couplet they betrayed the literary and rational impulses which were to command the future, and so indicated the verse form in which the Restoration could explore its own mind. Waller became the focal point at which these impulses were concentrated rather than the poet in whom they were born. The development of poetry still led from Jonson to Dryden, though by way of Waller; and the connecting link was less the couplet itself than the informing force of the couplet, which was a manner of saying things ultimately derived from Latin rhetoric.

It is common to describe the neo-classical decasyllabic verse as couplets of a thoroughly distichic character, almost uniformly end-stopped both in rhythm and in sense, or what we may call "serried" verse. Of these couplets there are two varieties to be found in Dryden and Pope: the balanced, antithetic sort, employing a strong medial caesura, which divides the line into balancing parts; and the less patterned sort, with a weaker caesura (or even none at all), which moves more freely within the line and accompanies a slight concession to overflow. Although there is no strict division of labor, the highly patterned sort, with its oscillating movement, is more suitable to reflective verse; while the less patterned sort, with its freer design, admits the forward movement which narrative verse requires.<sup>1</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> On the metric of heroic couplets see Egerton Smith's *Principles of English metre* (Oxford, 1923), chaps. iv, xii, xx.



it is with the highly patterned verse that we are concerned, since the less patterned is only a relaxed form of the more patterned, which contains the concentrated form of neo-classical wit.

In neo-classical verse this wit has two formal aspects which betray its origin. One is on the side of prosody, and the other on the side of syntax; their union in the form of the verse itself suggests the union of two developments which go back to the early seventeenth century, if not before. These developments are the maturing of a prosodic tradition which leads from Puttenham to Bysshe, and the growth of a new style of wit relying for its pattern upon certain rhetorical figures. A union of the two trends was effected in the work of certain individuals, whose influence over the later seventeenth century is indisputable. This union is represented in theory by Puttenham's *Arte of English poesie*, with its prosody and its rhetoric; it is represented in practice, with something like selective genius, by the work of Jonson and Waller. It will be instructive to see (so far as we can within our limits) how these two lines of development are brought together in the early seventeenth century, and how they are thenceforth distinguished in the rhetorical pattern of the couplet which became neo-classical. Not all poets who might claim a place can be discussed, but only the most prominent or the most significant.

# I

Let me indicate, first, the trend of prosodic thinking from Puttenham to Bysshe. Puttenham, whose metrical ideas have much in common with those of James VI before him and Beaumont after him, deals with "Proportion Poetical" in Book II of his *Arte of English poesie* (1589).<sup>2</sup> In English, says Puttenham, measure or meter consists "in the number of sillables, which are comprehended in euery verse, not regarding his feete, otherwise then that we allow in scanning our verse, two sillables to make one short portion (suppose it a foote) in euery verse."<sup>3</sup> Here we have syllable-counting and feet, so far as he will recognize them, only of the dissyllabic sort. The "*rithmos* or *numerositie*" which secured harmony for the Greeks "grew by the smooth and delicate running of their feete, which we haue not in

<sup>2</sup> I call the author of this book Puttenham for convenience; the case against Puttenham is argued by B. M. Ward in the *Review of English studies*, I (1925), 284-308.

<sup>3</sup> *Arte of English poesie*, ed. Arber ("English reprints"), p. 81.



our vulgare, though we vse as much as may be the most flowing words and slippery sillables, that we can picke out."<sup>4</sup> Hence it is that Puttenham stresses the "tunable consentes in the latter end of our verses":

....so in our vulgar Poesie....your verses answering eche other by couples, or at larger distances in good [cadence] is it that maketh your meeter symphonically. This cadence is the fal of a verse in euery last word with a certaine tunable sound which being matched with another of like sound, do make a [concord].<sup>5</sup>

Puttenham is very particular about rhyme, and declares that "there can not be in a maker a fowler fault, then to falsifie his accent to serue his cadence, or by vntrue orthographie to wrench his words to helpe his rime." The measures of best proportion in English fall between four and twelve syllables; "and euery meeter may be aswel in the odde as in the euen syllable, but better in the euen."<sup>6</sup> The reason why meters in odd syllables are allowed is thus explained:

....the sharpe accent falles vpon the *penultima* or last saue one sillable of the verse, which doth so drowne the last, as he seemeth to passe away in maner vnpronounced, and so make the verse seeme euen: but if the accent fall vpon the last and leaue two flat to finish the verse, it will not seeme so: for the odnes will more notoriously appeare....like a minstrels musicke.... This sort of composition in the odde I like not, vnlesse it be holpen by the *Cesure* or by the accent as I sayd before.<sup>7</sup>

Not until Bysshe will one find a stronger devotion to dissyllabic feet with the accent on the even syllables.<sup>8</sup> "The meeter of ten sillables," declares Puttenham, "is very stately and Heroical, and must haue his *Cesure* fall vpon the fourth sillable, and leaue sixe behinde him thus.

I serue at ease, and gouerne all with woe."

Such a view of measure, accent, and rhyme, if imposed upon verse, would certainly develop a more or less rigid pattern, in which rhyme would have a decidedly structural effect.

Until Bysshe, Puttenham is unique in his extensive and explicit treatment of the caesura. "There is," says he, "no greater difference

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86. The relation of the caesura to an odd number of syllables is an advance upon Gascoigne.

<sup>8</sup> Although Puttenham considers the adaptation of classical feet to English verse, he concludes (p. 141) against such "mincing measures."

betwixt a ciuill and brutish vtterance then cleare distinction of voices":

... also the breath asketh to be now and then releued with some pause or stay more or lesse: besides that the very nature of speach (because it goeth by clauses of seuerall construction and sence) requireth some space betwixt them with intermission of sound, to th'end they may not huddle one vpon another so rudly and so fast that th'eare may not perceiue their difference.<sup>9</sup>

It is apparent that Puttenham recognizes a rhetorical pause as well as a metrical pause. Asserting that "if there be no *Cesure* at all, and the verse long, the lesse is the makers skill and hearers delight," he proceeds to mark the musical pause for each meter, placing it in heroic verse, as we have seen, upon the fourth syllable. In verse of six syllables and under, no caesura is needed "because the breath asketh no reliefe: yet if ye giue any *Comma*, it is to make distinction of sense more then for any thing else: and such *Cesure* must neuer be made in the middest of any word, if it be well appointed."<sup>10</sup> After accusing Chaucer and his contemporaries of seldom observing the caesura and of letting "their rymes runne out at length," he again insists that "in euery long verse the *Cesure* ought to be kept precisely, if it were but to serue as a law to correct the licentiousnesse of rymers, besides that it pleaseth the eare better, and sheweth more cunning in the maker by following the rule of his restraint." The caesura distinguishes the musical sections of the line, or, as Puttenham would say, keeps words from huddling upon the ear. Altogether Puttenham enjoins a rule of restraint upon the license of rhymers that would insure both the distinction of voices and the distinction of parts which mark the neo-classical couplet.

Such a scholar as Mr. Omond finds that by the close of the seventeenth century "Elizabethan freedom was replaced by mechanical exactness; the syllable-counters had triumphed."<sup>11</sup> But he does not take into serious account the one book after Puttenham which shows most definitely this passage from freedom to mechanical correctness: that is Joshua Poole's *English Parnassus* (1657), which contains "A short institution to English poesie" by J. D. Not only does Mr. Omond call Bysshe's *Art of English poetry* (1702) "the first modern

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87. Puttenham often speaks of verse by analogy to the music of his time.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

<sup>11</sup> T. S. Omond, *English metrists* (Oxford, 1921), p. 31.

book of its kind," but he declares that "from what immediate sources Bysshe derived his doctrine does not appear."<sup>12</sup> And yet one source of Bysshe's doctrine would have appeared if Mr. Omond had not slipped Poole into the appendix. The important part of Poole is the preface by J. D., who may have been John Dryden, but who was, at any rate, unusually aware of prosodic trends.<sup>13</sup> J. D. mentions Sidney and Daniel on poetry, and the treatises, but not the names, of Campion and Puttenham; he obviously knows Daniel<sup>14</sup> and Puttenham best, and his "Institution" develops primarily the theories of Puttenham. J. D. declares that "harmony, in *prose*, consists in an exact placing of the *accent*, and an accurate *disposition* of the words. . . . In *Poesie*, it consists besides the aforesaid conditions of *Prose in measure, proportion and Rhyme*."<sup>15</sup> In turn Bysshe begins his first chapter with this statement: "The Structure of our Verses, whether Blank, or in Rhyme, consists in a certain Number of Syllables; not in Feet compos'd of long and short Syllables, as the Verses of the *Greeks* and *Romans*." This principle of "numbers" is of course a positive return to Puttenham, who, like Bysshe, preaches the doctrine of the "Structure of the Verse," determined by the "Seat of the Accent" and the "Pause," together with the "Rhyme." For Bysshe "the true Harmony of Verses depends on a due Observation of the Accent and Pause."<sup>16</sup> J. D. makes a significant middle term in this prosodic descent.

The chief difference between Puttenham and Bysshe is a shift of emphasis from rhyme to numbers, but J. D. is more nearly balanced between them. While harmony for him consists largely in the disposition of the words "so as to be pronounced without violence by the accent," yet rhyme is "that wherein all the symphony and musick

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>13</sup> The British Museum copy is signed *Jn Dn*, which signature "may be that of Dryden."

<sup>14</sup> The few observations on prosody in Daniel's *Defence of rhyme* belong to this school, and supply matter for this preface (cf. Omond, pp. 29-30).

<sup>15</sup> *English Parnassus* (London, 1657), sig. a2<sup>r</sup>; reprinted 1677. Dryden's early view of metrics appears in *An essay of dramatic poesy* (1668): For him blank verse is but measured prose; measure alone does not constitute verse. For the Greeks and Latins verse "consisted in quantity of words and a determinate number of feet." But in the vulgar languages "a new way of poesy was practised. . . . This new way consisted in measure or number of feet, and rhyme; the sweetness of rhyme, and observation of accent, supplying the place of quantity in words. . . . No man is tied in modern poesy to observe any farther rule in the feet of his verse, but that they be disyllables; whether spondee, trochee, or iambic, it matters not; only he is obliged to rhyme" (*Essays*, ed. Ker, I, 96-97).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Art of English poetry* (London, 1718), pp. 1-3.

of a verse consists."<sup>17</sup> All three prosodists emphasize the dependence of rhyme upon accent, and all three are concerned about polysyllables that "come not into verse without a certain violence." All three declare feminine rhymes too frivolous for the majesty of heroic verse, and only J. D. neglects the importance of the caesura in its harmony and structure. But J. D. does condemn, under the proper disposition of words, "a certain licentiousnesse, which some *English Poets* have in imitation of the *Greek* and *Latine*, presumed on to *dismember*, and *disjoin* things that should naturally march together; placing some words at such a distance one from another, as will not stand with the *English Idiom*."<sup>18</sup> And this censures not only the lapse into "flat prose" but also "the sense variously drawn out from one Verse into another," or the elaborate period and overflow, which he illustrates in a passage of heroic couplets. Bysshe obviously models his book on Poole, and frequently uses J. D.'s preface in formulating his "Rules for making Verses." As one instance of such use, observe their common matter on "the misplacing of the accent," even to the example from Davenant.<sup>19</sup> It is clear, I think, that the Puttenham-Poole-Bysshe line marks a definite tradition of prosodic thinking, which even in Elizabethan days began, in theory at least, to replace freedom by restrictive laws.

## II

The rhetorical theory for the style of wit which came to prevail in neo-classical verse may also be found in Puttenham. It is on the rhetorical side that Puttenham must have appeared at once learned and novel. In 1591 Sir John Harington referred his readers to this treatise, "where, as it were a whole receipt of Poetrie is prescribed, with so manie new figures, as would put me in great hope in this age to come, would breed manie excellent Poets," if the author's own verse did not prove the contrary.<sup>20</sup> Only we know that Jonson had a copy of Puttenham, and that Drayton has been suspected of using him. In Book III, "Of ornament," Puttenham divides figures into three ranks: "auricular," "sensable," and "sententious." The sen-

<sup>17</sup> Poole, sigs. a5<sup>v</sup> and a7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. a6<sup>r</sup>. Dryden says (*Essays*, ed. Ker, I, 6) that they were whipt at Westminster if they inverted the order of their words and closed their lines with verbs twice together.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Poole, sig. a5<sup>v</sup>; and Bysshe, p. 6.

<sup>20</sup> See Puttenham, p. 13.

tentious figures, which he also calls "rhetoricall," seem to him to mingle the virtues of all three sorts, and especially to "geue sence and sententiousness to the whole language at large."

[Your rhetorical figures, says Puttenham,] doe also conteine a certain sweet and melodious manner of speech, in which respect, they may, after a sort, be said *auricular*: because the eare is no less rauished with their currant tune, than the mind is with their sententiousness. For the eare is properly but an instrument of conueyance for the minde, to apprehend the sence by the sound. And our speech is made melodious or harmonicall, not only by strayned tunes, as those of *Musick*, but also by choice of smoothe words: and thus, or thus, marshalling them in their comeliest construction and order.

...<sup>21</sup>

The ordering breeds "no little alteration in man." If Jonson could find some justification in Puttenham for his inclination to believe "that verses stood by sense without either colours or accent," Waller could find in him something like his whole poetic creed. There is reason to suspect that neo-classical poets discovered what Puttenham here asserts, that sententious figures do also contain or induce a certain "current tune."

Under "Figures sententious" Puttenham first describes seven kinds of repetition which are really *figurae dictionis*, and are used commonly by Spenser;<sup>22</sup> these are sometimes connected with what Dryden later calls the "turn of thoughts." Of the sententious figures proper I wish to single out only five, for three of them will provide the rhetorical pattern of neo-classical verse and inform its characteristic movement of thought, while the other two suggest its ideal form in the didactic mode.

The form which the neo-classical couplet approaches as an ideal is the epigrammatic. It is foreshadowed in the sententious development of the couplet in the Elizabethan sonnet and play, or in the Jacobean epigram; Pope, of course, sets this inclination. Sententious figures that provide such an ideal framework are the *epiphonema* or "close" and the *sententia* proper. The *epiphonema* or acclamation, says Puttenham, is especially appropriate to the epigram, and "may seeme a manner of allowance to all the premisses." As illustration he quotes Sir Philip Sidney very prettily closing up a ditty in this sort:

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 206-7.

<sup>22</sup> See *Shepheards calendar*, ed. C. H. Herford (London, 1925), pp. lxiv-lxvi.

What medicine then, can such disease remoue,  
Where loue breedes hate, and hate engenders loue.<sup>23</sup>

*Sententiae*, according to Puttenham, are witty sentences, "such as smatch morall doctrine and teach wisdom and good behaiour," which he illustrates from Queen Elizabeth:

Neuer thinke you fortune can beare the sway,  
Where vertues force, can cause her to obey.<sup>24</sup>

The important thing to notice is the inevitable tendency toward closure which a didactic function or an epigrammatic urge imposes upon the couplet. As Joseph Warton in his *Essay on Pope* long afterward admits, "Rhyme may be properest . . . for pieces where closeness of expression and smartness of style are expected"; and these ideals, the desiderata of aphoristic form, are finally responsible for shaping the neo-classical couplet.

But closeness of expression and smartness of style are effectively secured within the couplet chiefly by three rhetorical figures, which have long been recognized as the properties of neo-classical verse syntax. In Puttenham these figures are set down as *antimetabole* or inversion, *antitheton* or antithesis, and *parison* or parallelism and balance; they are considered by Puttenham as structural figures which affect the sense, not as merely verbal schemes.

*Antimetabole*, says Puttenham, "takes a couple of words to play with in a verse, and by making them to chaunge and shift one into others place they do very pretily exchange and shift the sence." He regards it as a witty figure and quotes, among other illustrations, this couplet:

In trifles earnest as any man can bee,  
In earnest matters no such trifer as hee.<sup>25</sup>

Without the identity of words this becomes the simple inversion, or a figure of emphasis and concision. In its strict form this figure appears—for instance, in *Cooper's Hill*—as a "turn":

Sure there are Poets which did never dream  
Upon *Parnassus*, nor did tast the stream  
Of *Helicon*, we therefore may suppose

<sup>23</sup> P. 225. The second line uses *antimetabole*, which we shall discuss in connection with the rhetorical pattern commonly found within such a framework.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218.

Those made not Poets, but the Poets those.  
 And as Courts make not Kings, but Kings the Court,  
 So where the Muses & their train resort,  
*Parnassus* stands; if I can be to thee  
 A Poet, thou *Parnassus* art to me.<sup>26</sup>

Seldom is this figure so often repeated as in the opening of this poem, and we may be sure that this passage afforded Dryden the "beautiful turns of words and thoughts" which Sir George Mackenzie taught him to appreciate in Waller and Denham. The normal inversions of neo-classical verse reinforce its antitheses, contribute to the closeness and smartness of its expression, and emphasize its ideas by throwing the strong words into rhyming positions. It should be remembered that poets could hardly avoid such lessons in the rhetorical instruction of the time.

Of *antitheton*, the "contentious" figure, Puttenham gives an illustrative couplet "where one speaking of Cupids bowe, deciphered thereby the nature of sensual loue":

His bent is sweete, his loose is somewhat sowre,  
 In ioy begunne, ends oft in wofull howre.<sup>27</sup>

"*Isocrates* the Greek Oratour," adds Puttenham, "was a litle too full of this figure, and so was the Spaniard that wrote the life of *Marcus Aurelius*, and many of our modern writers in vulgar, vse it in excesse and incurre the vice of fond affectation: otherwise the figure is very commendable."<sup>28</sup> After this reference to euphuism, it is interesting to ask whether the antithesis which helped to tighten up our prose did not also help to tighten up our verse. Even in Puttenham's examples one can observe how antithesis in the couplet develops a witty force or sense of thrust, of half-line against half-line, and line against line.

In *parison* we find the third structural element in neo-classical verse. And this Puttenham calls "the figure of euen, because it goeth by clauses of egall quantitie, and not very long, but yet not so short as the cutted comma: and they geue good grace to a dittie, but es-

<sup>26</sup> Notice how the figure enjoins a medial caesura.

<sup>27</sup> Puttenham, p. 219. The analytic suggestion is interesting.

<sup>28</sup> This contradicts T. K. Whipple's contention that sixteenth-century opinion did not connect *Isocrates* with euphuistic figures (cf. "Isocrates and euphuism," *Modern language review*, XI [1916], 25-26).



pecially to a prose." This may be illustrated by these lines out of Puttenham:

Our life is loathsome, our sinnes a heauy lode,  
Conscience a curst iudge, remorse a priuie goade.  
Disease, age and death still in our eare they round,  
That hence we must the sickly and the sound.<sup>29</sup>

Of course *parison* involves the notion of balance as well as parallelism, for it means similarity of *form* between the equal rhythmic members of *isocolon*. And balance and parallelism, one need hardly say, are the chief adjuncts of antithesis; in the stopped couplet, moreover, they entail short members and imply the medial pause, which Puttenham and Bysshe thought one of the principal means to harmony.

As Puttenham has connected both antithesis and parallelism with prose, it will be proper at this point to relate the rhetorical mode which I have been describing to the Senecan prose of this period. To illustrate their connection it will be sufficient, I believe, to point out the traits which Professor Croll has so admirably distinguished in this prose. It is to the "curt" rather than to the "loose" form of Senecan prose that the antithetic mode in verse is related. In the curt form we find a cultivation of sententiousness, antithesis, point, and in general the figures of thought; "this style is always tending toward the aphorism, or *pensée*, as its ideal form."<sup>30</sup> It is significant that Bacon compiled *antitheta* as a "preparatory store for the furniture of speech and readiness of invention." He followed this suggestion in the *Advancement of learning* with an extended list of *antitheta* in his *De augmentis*; their form depends upon antithesis, parallelism, and balance, and a great many of them will be found in the *Essays*.<sup>31</sup> While the antithesis is chiefly a figure of sound in Lyly, it becomes a figure

<sup>29</sup> P. 222; notice the medial caesura. If this description of *parison* sounds like a description of *isocolon* or "Egall members" (cf. Wilson's *Arte of rhetorique*, ed. Mair, p. 204), we should remember that English rhetorics did not distinguish carefully between them: frequently they were lumped as *compar* (cf. John Smith, *Mysterie of rhetorique unueil'd* [London, 1665], p. 203).

<sup>30</sup> M. W. Croll, "The baroque style in prose," *Studies in English philology* (University of Minnesota Press, 1929), p. 435. On this prose see also his "Attic prose in the seventeenth century," *Studies in philology*, XVIII (1921), 79-128.

<sup>31</sup> See *Philosophical works*, ed. J. M. Robertson (London, 1905), pp. 129 and 545 ff. "And the best way of making such a collection," says Bacon (p. 545), "with a view to use as well as brevity, would be to contract those commonplaces into certain acute and concise sentences"; however, he now disparages his own *antitheta*, not as examples of Senecan style, but as products of youth (p. 557).



of thought or wit in Bacon; and a similar shift from a stress on word-play to a stress on play of thought is recognized when we pass from Elizabethan to Jacobean verse. Although the curt period in prose tends to be asymmetrical, the curt period in verse (the stopped couplet) tends to employ figures of symmetry, and thus to vary from its prose counterpart; but they both like to use symmetry to emphasize cunning departures from it. As Professor Croll has shown, the character of this prose derives from the imitation of Silver Latin writers; the same may be said of the verse, for verification can be had not only in its special rhetoric, but also in the cultivation of the Roman epigram, and in the predominant taste for Silver Latin poets reflected in the editing of the noted Thomas Farnaby. At the same time the general favorite among poets of the Golden Age was certainly the anti-thetic Ovid, whose influence had been strong upon writers of the Silver Age.

To point the Senecan turn in prose, there is Professor Croll's objection to the use of antithesis to characterize euphuism:

It may be a figure of words, or sound, on the one hand, and a figure of thought (*figura sententia*), on the other. In the latter use, it is one of the most important *differentia* by which we recognize the style of the Anti-Ciceronian movement which arose at the end of the sixteenth century in reaction from the various forms of ornate, formal style in the preceding age, such as Euphuism itself, Ciceronian imitation, and so on.<sup>32</sup>

In the development of the kind of wit with which this paper is concerned, this figure of thought is the central rhetorical doctrine. The "points" of this wit generally depend upon an antithesis, open or veiled, which provides an unexpected turn of thought. Such wit may be recognized in the characteristic ingenuities of many writers in this mode: if it is Bacon, "Men in great places are thrice servants"; if Jonson, "And whisper what a proclamation says"; if Dryden, "But Shadwell never deviates into sense"; and if Pope, "Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer." In short, Silver Latin imitation in Jacobean prose and verse developed an antithetic turn of mind which left decisive marks upon its literary product.

When rhetorical ornament was generally dropped, antithesis, parallelism, and balance were carried over to both the simplified

<sup>32</sup> Lyly's *Euphuus*, ed. Croll and Clemens (London, 1916), p. xvii.

prose and the simplified verse of the Restoration. These are the main rhetorical forms employed, less obtrusively in the prose and more obtrusively in the verse, after the Restoration. With ideals of clarity and comprehension, Restoration writers could not fail to see that antithesis and parallelism positively assist comprehension and carry a suggestion of logical form; they perhaps did not realize that these figures may give even nonsense an air of comprehensibility. Moreover, these figures not only had appeared with a subtle and evasive grace in the King James Version, but had turned with new cunning in the couplets which Sandys fashioned for many of his biblical paraphrases.<sup>33</sup> It ought not to be forgotten that the curt Senecan style, the biblical style, and the stopped couplet have not only these characteristic figures in common,<sup>34</sup> but also a similar shortness of members in their periods. And with such shortness predicated, these figures, aided by inversion, are the principal means to variety; but if obtruded, they make in their more obvious effect for uniformity. Of all figures they are, moreover, those which most decidedly affect sentence structure, or the pattern of thought; and they induce a simpler, more uniform rhythm than is to be found in the ornate prose and verse of the seventeenth century.

These shaping figures produce the antithetic pattern of the curt Senecan period and the neo-classical couplet; they are most brilliantly displayed in the character-writing and occasional verse of the seventeenth century. If not decisive, neither is it irrelevant that Puttenham had supplied a manual for occasional verse, giving "a whole receipt of Poetrie" distinguished by its emphasis on the contemporary rhetoric of figures; it is at least suggestive that Jonson owned this book. Upon the sententious figures which we have examined, occasional verse depends for closeness and smartness of expression, for point and sharpness of wit; in the heroic couplet, with the attendant caesura, they give distinction of parts, emphasis, and neatness to the pattern, and likewise simplify the rhythm. In verse an antithetic wit, for which

<sup>33</sup> His couplets are shaped by Ovidian and biblical turns. In 1700 Dryden declared that the poet who has arrived the nearest to giving Ovid the same turn of verse that he had in the original "is the ingenious and learned Sandys, the best versifier of the former age" (*Essays*, ed. Ker, II, 247).

<sup>34</sup> John Smith's *Mysterie of rhetoric unveiled* (1665) illustrates the typical use of these figures in Scripture. The relative simplicity and ornateness of scriptural style was long a matter of dispute.

these figures supply the pattern, is adapted above all to satire, panegyric, argument, or portraiture; and wherever pointed contrast, sharp definition, novel turns, or critical poise are in demand, this wit will find a place. I do not mean to say that this is the only form of neo-classical wit or verse, but rather that the "set" is definitely toward this pattern.

### III

When Donne and Jonson reacted against the diffuser graces of Spenserian poetry, they began to cultivate a closer texture in verse, they put more into their lines. But it was Jonson who made most of the couplet; believing in discipline, he embodied in the couplet both the cast of mind and the rhetorical artifice that were to determine its neo-classical pattern. With his decided preference for the couplet went a realization of the part played in it by the caesura: he can use the pause to punctuate thought in the manner of the neo-classicists. In the neo-classical couplet the caesura, although an element in the sound pattern, becomes an element in the rhetorical pattern by serving to turn the antithetic balance and point of the ideas. Bysshe not only makes the pause divide the verse into two parts, but asserts that "the Construction of Sense should never end at a Syllable where the Pause ought not to be made";<sup>35</sup> the pause, in short, ought to offer violence neither to the ear nor to the sense. The sententious, antithetic, parallel, and pointed forms of Jonson's thought, which are concentrated in his *Epigrams*, have been illustrated convincingly by Professor Schelling;<sup>36</sup> and it is this antithetic mode of thinking and feeling that informs the couplet which connects with the future. If we recall Jonson's criticism of Spenser, his style of prose, and his expressed habit of writing his poetry first in prose, we shall realize that in cultivating such forms of thought he was actually recalling poetry to prose norms. It is no accident, then, that the trends of poetry and prose in this time parallel one another, or that Jonson wrote the verse

<sup>35</sup> P. 6.

<sup>36</sup> See "Ben Jonson and the classical school," *PMLA*, XIII (1898), 221-49. For these forms as imitated from Martial see T. K. Whipple, "Martial and the English epigram," *University of California Publications in Modern philology*, X (1925), 400-403; their place in rhetoric and poetry has appeared in Puttenham. For a similar influence of Ovid upon Drayton and Heywood see J. S. P. Tatlock, "The origin of the closed couplet in England," *Nation*, XCVIII (April 9, 1914), 390.

he did when he expressly desired to employ the "language such as men do use," which poetry deserts to its own cost.

To look for the remarks of Jonson which bear upon the heroic couplet is to find the most significant statements that he ever made about metrics. While most of them are made to Drummond, we cannot suppose, in the light of Jonson's character, that they were made to Drummond alone. In the *Conversations* we learn that Jonson had an epic "all in Couplets, for he detesteth all other Rimes," and that "he had written a discourse of Poesie both against Campion & Daniel especially this Last, wher he proves couplets to be the bravest sort of Verses, *especially when they are broken, like Hexameters* and that crosse Rimes and Stanzaes (because the purpose would lead him beyond 8 lines to conclude) were all forced."<sup>37</sup> To Drummond he criticized Donne "for not keeping of accent" in his *Anniversarie*; likewise he declared his preference for stopped verses by remarking that "some loved running Verses plus mihi com(m)a placet."<sup>38</sup> Related to this is that passage in the *Discoveries* about composition:

Others there are, that have no composition at all; but a kind of tuneing, and riming fall, in what they write. It runs and slides, and onely makes a sound. . . .

They write a verse, as smooth, as soft, as cream;  
In which there is no torrent, nor scarce streame.<sup>39</sup>

Altogether these are notions of the couplet, of observing caesura, of keeping accent, and of composing rather than "running" verses, which, if followed, could result in little short of Waller. It is true that Jonson has "A fit of rhyme against rhyme," but here also he discloses his regard for caesura:

Vulgar languages that want  
Words, and sweetness, and be scant  
Of true measure,  
Tyrant rhyme hath so abused,  
That they long since have refused  
Other cesure.

<sup>37</sup> Ben Jonson, ed. Herford and Simpson (Oxford, 1925), I, 132. The italics are mine, to mark Jonson's preference for caesural break. His opposition to Daniel was no doubt inspired partly by the confession that to "mine own ear those continual cadences of couplets used in long and continued poems are very tiresome and displeasing" (*Defence of rhyme*).

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143. Daniel preferred "sometimes to beguile the ear with a running out, and passing over the rhyme."

<sup>39</sup> *Discoveries*, ed. G. B. Harrison ("Bodley head quartos" [1923]), p. 30.

If Jonson detested all rhymes except couplets, he was ready to prove couplets the bravest sort of verses; and his dislike of other rhymes, and of the wants which rhyme supplied, must not have been lost on men like Waller. "In verse and prose alike," say his latest editors, "he sought brevity, terseness, emphasis; sentences not loosely connected or vaguely continuous, but sharply detached."<sup>40</sup> With such aims his requirements for the couplet are thoroughly consistent.

After the praise lavished by Courthope and Saintsbury upon Sir John Beaumont's poem to King James "Concerning the true forme of English poetry,"<sup>41</sup> it may seem ungrateful to suggest that it could have been written out of Jonson's *Discoveries* and *Conversations*. But since Beaumont was printed first, we must conclude that his ideas about verse were held in common with others; one of whom, as he suggests, was King James; and Puttenham may be considered another. A third, Jonson, offers a more puzzling parallel; for instance, compare the foregoing "torrent" couplet from Jonson with this one from Beaumont:

When verses like a milky torrent flow,  
They equal temper in the poet show.

Other lines of Beaumont which make us return to Jonson are these:

Vneuen swelling is no way to fame,  
But solid ioyning of the perfect frame:  
So that no curious finger there can find  
The former chinkes, or nailes that fastly bind.

Although a common source is possible, still Jonson does assert that composition "rests in the well-joyning, cementing, and coagmentation of words; when as it is smooth, gentle, and sweet; like a Table, upon which you may runne your finger without rubs, and your nayle cannot find a joynt; not horrid, rough, wrinkled, gaping, or chapt."<sup>42</sup> When Beaumont enjoins "pure phrase," we remember that Jonson loved "pure and neat language," "phrase neat and pick'd"; and so we might continue to match parts. Aside from a common praise of couplets, such agreements as these serve to remind us that neo-classical precept was growing in consequence. Whether or not Beau-

<sup>40</sup> *Ben Jonson*, ed. Herford and Simpson, II, 412.

<sup>41</sup> Reprinted in Chalmers, *English poets*, VI, 30-31.

<sup>42</sup> *Discoveries*, p. 79. M. Castelain, in his edition (p. 106), finds a source in Vives, but Vives lacks the simile. Jonson, however, confesses a "Beaumont's booke to bee/The bound, and frontier of our poetrie" (cf. his *Elegy for Beaumont*).

mont was merely echoing Father Ben's opinions, we can rest assured that critical sanction was not lacking for the verse of Waller, and that even a motive was supplied (or confirmed after the fact) by Beaumont's condemnation of metaphysical obscurity, "halting feet," and "ragged" poems. As Aubrey recounts Waller's refinement of poetry, the story goes that "when he was a brisque young sparke, and first studyed poetry, 'Methought,' said he, 'I never sawe a good copie of English verses; they want smoothnes; then I began to essay.'" <sup>43</sup> With all the stress on composition and "keeping of accent" that we have noticed, it is hard to believe Waller original in his aim, whatever we may think of his "essay."

It would be superfluous, after Professor Schelling's essay, to demonstrate again that Jonson has a rightful place in the Waller-Dryden-Pope line because of his unusually large use of caesured, stopped couplets and the antithetic mode. "In Jonson's hands," says Professor Schelling, "the decasyllabic couplet became the habitual measure for occasional verse, and sanctioned by his usage, remained such for a hundred and fifty years. But not only did Jonson's theory and practice coincide in his overwhelming preference for this particular form of verse, but the decasyllabic couplet as practised by Jonson exemplifies all the characteristics which, in greater emphasis, came in time to distinguish the manner and versification of Waller and Dryden."<sup>44</sup> At most we should have to mitigate this statement only by widening the sanction and by adding the forces which lent vitality to that sanction. That Jonson's sanction was effective cannot be proved, but it can be urged by a comparison of the verses which Lord Falkland and Sidney Godolphin contributed to the "Elegies upon the author" (Donne) and to the later *Jonsonus Virbius*. A just comparison of the two pairs of elegies, which ought to be examined entire, would show that the verse in which both poets honor Jonson is much more neo-classical than that in which they honor Donne. Although their verse to Donne will show that their homage is also a homage of style, it is offered by "Sons of Ben." I shall quote a passage from Falkland in honor of Jonson not for the sake of comparison, but to suggest the kind of verse written by those who were left his heirs:

<sup>43</sup> *Brief lives*, ed. A. Clark (Oxford, 1898), II, 275.

<sup>44</sup> "Ben Jonson and the classical school," *PMLA*, XIII (1898), 235-36.

Then for my slender reed to sound his name,  
 Would more my folly than his praise proclaim,  
 And when you wish my weakness sing his worth,  
 You charge a mouse to bring a mountain forth.  
 I am by nature formed, by woes made, dull,  
 My head is emptier than my heart is full;  
 Grief doth my brain impair, as tears supply,  
 Which makes my face so moist, my pen so dry.  
 Nor should this work proceed from woods and downs,  
 But from the academies, courts, and towns;  
 Let Digby, Carew, Killigrew, and Maine,  
 Godolphin, Waller, that inspired train,  
 Or whose rare pen beside deserves the grace,  
 Or of an equal, or a neighbouring place,  
 Answer thy wish, for none so fit appears,  
 To raise his tomb, as who are left his heirs:  
 Yet for this cause no labour need be spent,  
 Writing his works, he built his monument.<sup>45</sup>

While all these writers were not left his heirs in the way of neo-classical verse, Waller and Godolphin were, and Falkland must be allowed after the tribute of this verse. The antithetic manner of the verse, it is not unfair to remark, is striking; and the rhyme (as an obvious and simple test) nowhere does violence to the intimate ties of syntax. As *Jonsonus Virbius* was published in 1638, it associated with Jonson (in Falkland, Cartwright, Godolphin, Waller, and others) precise suggestions of the neo-classical manner before the regular publication of Waller. "The voice most echoed by consenting men" is echoed less by Godolphin than by Waller; still "The Muses fairest light," now ascribed to Godolphin rather than Cleveland,<sup>46</sup> does definitely echo the neo-classical mode of Jonson. It is not unreasonable to believe, after such witness, that *Jonsonus Virbius* did in fact support the sanction which Jonson gave to a certain manner of writing occasional verse.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. Gifford and Cunningham (London, 1910), III, 499-500.

<sup>46</sup> See *Ben Jonson*, ed. Herford and Simpson, I, 116 n.

<sup>47</sup> By 1646 Martin Lluelyn (*Men-miracles* [1646], pp. 101-2) can turn satire, with new emphasis, in this fashion:

"When *Laws* and *Princes* are despis'd, & cheape,  
 When *High-pitcht Mischeifes* all are in the heap;  
 Returns must still be had: Guilt must strive more  
 Though not to 'Ennoble, yet to *Enlarge* her store.  
 Poor cheape *Designes!* the *Rebell* now must flee  
 To *Packet-Warre*, to *Paper-Treacherie*.

[Note continued on following page]



But the forces which lent vitality to this sanction never appear in a stranger guise than one that has yet to be noticed. The wit of antithesis, paradox, and point not only displayed its turns in the Senecan prose of this age, but even in the verse of the Spenserian school. The tendency toward antithetic scoring in verse can be observed in the work of Giles and Phineas Fletcher. It is apparent, for instance, in the opening stanza of Giles Fletcher's *Christs victorie and triumph*:

The birth of him that no beginning knewe,  
Yet gives beginning to all that are borne,  
And how the Infinite farre greater grewe,  
By growing lesse, and how the rising Morne,  
That shot from heav'n, did backe to heaven retourne,  
The obsequies of him that could not die,  
And death of life, ende of eternitie,  
How worthily he died, that died unworthily.

Of course the play upon Christian paradox simply connects Fletcher with the paradoxical wit of Lancelot Andrewes, and illustrates the obligation of the mind of this age to antithetic patterns in verse and prose.<sup>48</sup> In Jonson this wit was purged, as it were, of the eccentricities of Christian paradox and Metaphysical subtlety. The arts of verbal antithesis and epigrammatic contrast appear likewise in such a passage as this from Phineas Fletcher:

Prayers there are idle, death is woo'd in vain;  
In midst of death poore wretches long to die:  
Night without day or rest, still doubling pain;  
Woes spending still, yet still their end lesse nigh:  
The soul there restlesse, helplesse, hopelesse lies;  
The body frying roars, and roaring fries:  
There's life that never lives, there's death that never dies.<sup>49</sup>

But the further service of Jonson was to associate the art of antithetic scoring with its logical verse form, the stopped couplet. The Fletchers demonstrated that Spenserian discipleship could not harmonize with

---

The Basiliskes are turn'd to Closet-Spies,  
And to their *Pois'nous* adde *Enquiring* eyes.  
As *Snakes* and *Serpents* should they cast their sting,  
Still the same *Hate*, though not same *Poison* fling:  
And their *Vaine teeth* to the same point addresse,  
With the like *Rancor*, though unlike *Success*."

<sup>48</sup> Cf. W. F. Mitchell, *English pulpit oratory* (London, 1932), pp. 151 ff.

<sup>49</sup> *The purple island*, canto vi, stanza 37; notice the "turns."

the mental complexion of the Jacobean age, that ornate and antithetic rhapsody was neither Spenser nor the proper voice of Jacobean minds. They showed even more clearly, by contrast of form, the preoccupation of their age with "point," the development of wit toward an antithetic cast, and its connection with the theological and metaphysical wit of the preachers and poets.

## IV

In consequence of such tendencies of wit and verse, Waller must appear not as an inventor but rather as a consolidator of poetic development and as the acknowledged leader of a restrictive movement. In 1664 Dryden, as we know, first set the seal of authority upon Waller's leadership:

But the excellence and dignity of rime were never fully known till Mr. Waller taught it; he first made writing easily an art; first showed us to conclude the sense most commonly in distichs, which, in the verse of those before him, runs on for so many lines together, that the reader is out of breath to overtake it. This sweetness of Mr. Waller's lyric poesy was afterwards followed in the epic by Sir John Denham, in his *Cooper's Hill*, a poem which . . . for the majesty of the style, is, and ever will be, the exact standard of good writing.<sup>50</sup>

But shortly before 1670 Samuel Butler concluded his character of *A quibbler* with a criticism which is also an offense:

There are two sorts of Quibbling, the one with Words, and the other with Sense, like the Rhetoricians *Figurae Dictionis* & *Figurae Sententiae*—The first is already cried down, and the other as yet prevails; and is the only Elegance of our modern Poets, which easy Judges call *Easiness*; but having nothing in it but *Easiness*, and being never used by any lasting Wit, will in wiser Times fall to nothing of itself.<sup>51</sup>

It is obvious that Dryden and Butler (who together describe the formal aspects of the new verse) do not agree on what constitutes "writing easily" or "easiness" in the poetry of their day. Butler, however, was criticizing the current wit, and Dryden confessed in 1693 that he was unacquainted with "the beautiful turns of words and thoughts" in Waller and Denham "till about twenty years ago," when

<sup>50</sup> *Essays of John Dryden*, ed. W. P. Ker (Oxford, 1926), I, 7.

<sup>51</sup> *Characters and passages from note-books*, ed. A. R. Waller (Cambridge, 1908), p. 90. See Aubrey's remark on Butler (*Brief lives*, ed. Clark, I, 136): "He haz often sayd that way (e.g., Mr. Edmund Waller's) of quibbling with sence will hereafter growe as much out of fashion and be as ridicule as quibbling with words—quod N.B."

he began to study "those beauties which gave the last perfection to their works."<sup>52</sup> Later Dennis condemned the figures of point and wit in Denham and Waller, "whom he came to consider the forerunner of Pope."<sup>53</sup> When Dryden did become aware of "turns," he recurred to the subject most frequently in connection with Ovid, whose influence upon the closed couplet has been more than once suggested—and with reason, for the balanced, antithetic style was imitated, by Jonson for one, from Latin poets like Ovid, Martial, and Lucan.

There was no doubt in Butler's mind that a certain poet had stamped modern poetry with the "Easiness" of quibbles on sense, for he particularizes the two sorts of quibbling in his *Note-books*:

The first is don by shewing Tricks with words of the Same Sound, but Different Senses: And the other by expressing of Sense by Contradiction, and Riddle. Of this Mr. Waller, was the first most copious Author, and has so infected our modern writers of Heroiques with it, that they can hardly write any other way, and if at any time they endeavour to do it, like Horses that are put out of their Pace, they presently fall naturally into it againe.<sup>54</sup>

The "expressing of Sense by Contradiction, and Riddle" goes back to the cultivation of antithesis and paradox (or *oxymoron*) which we have examined.<sup>55</sup> Waller turned the balance from paradox to antithesis in the poetic wit which centered in contradiction. In predicting that this mode would fall to nothing, Butler was too hopeful, for it was precisely this "Elegance" that became the pattern of neo-classical verse. Beginning as a new form of wit derived from the old, it lived to shape the new verse itself; and it is this hypothesis that I have been examining. It may be said that the new pattern of wit, which came at times to depend less on the sense itself than upon the pattern of thought, found its natural verse form in the closed couplet, and that this union opened the way to a development of English verse. As the Elizabethan quibble on words passed into the Meta-

<sup>52</sup> *Essays*, II, 108.

<sup>53</sup> See H. G. Paul, *John Dennis* (New York, 1911), pp. 181, 184.

<sup>54</sup> *Characters* . . . , pp. 414-15.

<sup>55</sup> Contemporary definitions of these figures will show their common basis in contradiction: *Oxymoron*, "A figure when the same thing is denied of it self, or when a contrary Epithet is added to any word. By this figure contraries are acutely and discreetly reconciled or joyned together." *Antithesis* is "the illustration of a thing by its opposite . . . and is a Rhetorical Exornation when contraries are opposed to contraries in a speech or sentence; or when contrary Epithets are opposed, as also when sentences, or parts of a sentence are opposed to each other." (Cf. John Smith, *Mysterie of rhetoric unveiled* [London, 1665].) In one the contraries are reconciled; in the other they are opposed.

physical quibble on sense, so the latter passed into a new style of wit which depended less upon the ambiguity than upon the antithesis of ideas, or less upon startling reconciliations and more upon surprising oppositions. From the surprising opposition of ideas wit passed into verse as oppositions of structure.

It will be useful to regard these witty oppositions in the light of the English rhetorics of Butler's time. One of the most popular English rhetorics, which depend upon their Latin counterparts, was John Smith's *Mysterie of rhetoric unveiled*, first published in 1657. Of the *figura dictionis* and the *figura sententiae* Smith declares that "the former belongs to the matter, and as it were, to the body of speech; but the latter, to the form, and as it were, to the soul, that is, to the sentence."<sup>56</sup> And more particularly on the latter he adds:

Garnishing of the frame of speech, in a sentence, called *Figura Sententiae*, is a figure, which for the forcible moving of affections, doth after a sort beautifie the sense and very meaning of a sentence: because it carries with it a certain manly majesty, which far surpasses the soft delicacy of the former Figures, they being as it were effeminate and musical, these virile and majestic. It is when the ornament lies in the whole sentence, or where the elegancy is diffused through the structure of one, or more sentences.<sup>57</sup>

The comparison here is with the *figura dictionis*, which was pretty generally outlawed at this time.<sup>58</sup> In this passage Smith permits us to observe the place which Puttenham's sententious figures held in the rhetorics of Waller's generation; in particular Smith remarks of the antithesis in sentences: "This *Antithesis* marvailously delights and allures."<sup>59</sup> Such figures might well be taken, both from the example of Latin poets and from the teaching of the rhetorics, as the appropriate ornament of heroic poetry.

It is well known that in 1690 Atterbury declared the indebtedness of the time to Waller "for the new turn of Verse, which he brought in, and the improvement he made in our Numbers." After praising the

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>58</sup> See Davenant's detraction of those who think wit "lyes in agnominations, and in a kinde of an allike tinkling of words" (Spingarn, *Critical essays of the seventeenth century*, II, 22); this wit is connected with euphuism (cf. *Euphuus*, ed. Croll and Clemons, p. xxxviii).

<sup>59</sup> P. 164. But Thomas Blount, who deals with these "sharp and witty" figures in the *Academie of eloquence* (London, 1654), advises discretion: "*Sententia*, if it be well used, is a Figure; if ill and too much, a Style, of which none that write humorously and factiously, can be clear in these days, when there are so many Schismes of Eloquence" (p. 34).

*Derived from*  
*Page 11*

new harmony of Waller as opposed to the older verse of Donne and others, he remarked:

There was no distinction of parts, no regular stops, nothing for the ear to rest upon. . . . Mr. Waller remov'd all these faults; brought in more polysyllables, and smoother measures; bound up His thoughts better; and in a cadence more agreeable to the nature of the Verse He wrote in: so that wherever the natural stops of that were, He contriv'd the little breakings of His sense so as to fall in with them. And for that reason, since the stress of our Verse lies commonly upon the last syllable, you'll hardly ever find Him using a word of no force there.<sup>60</sup>

By popular consent these were the innovations of Waller, but why and how he could innovate at all should, by this time, be clear to the reader. And Waller's prose is not to be neglected in accounting for his new turn of verse. His prose falls into the mode of "the English Seneca," Bishop Hall, particularly as it led into the antithetic brilliance which touched Robert South. In the eighteenth century we find Doddridge describing Hall as "the most elegant and polite writer of his age," but noting that "he abounds rather too much with antitheses and witty turns."<sup>61</sup> And this is the style characteristic of Waller's prose, as it may be sampled in a letter "To my Lady Lucy Sidney" on the marriage of her sister Dorothy, which Waller must have written with at least a touch of outraged feeling:

May she that always affected silence, and retiredness, have the house fill'd with the noise, and number, of her children; and hereafter of her grandchildren! and then, may she arrive at that great curse so much declin'd by fair Ladies, old age! May she live to be very old, and yet seem young; be told so by her glass, and have no aches to inform her of the truth! And when she shall appear to be mortal, may her Lord not mourn for her, but go hand in hand with her to that place, where we are told there is neither marrying, nor giving in marriage; that being there divorced, we may all have an equal interest in her again! My revenge being immortal, I wish all this may also befall their posterity to the world's end, and afterwards!<sup>62</sup>

Of course this is Waller the wit, but the same style of antithesis and witty turn, with a touch of paradox, may also be found in his speeches. Here, too, Butler could complain of the "expressing of sense by con-

<sup>60</sup> *Works of Edmund Waller*, ed. E. Fenton (London, 1744), pp. 289-90; this 1690 preface is generally ascribed to Atterbury. In 1718 Prior (*Preface to Solomon*) objects that the couplet has become too confined and the sense too broken, so that every couplet is brought to the point of an epigram.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. W. F. Mitchell, *English pulpit oratory*, p. 367.

<sup>62</sup> *Works*, pp. 282-83.

tradition and riddle," or of a turn of prose like the new turn of heroics. Antithesis, parallelism, and witty turns, with simple biblical and classical allusions, these are the chief traits of Waller's prose, as of his verse.

When Hallam objected to Denham's famous apostrophe to the Thames on the ground that "the lines contain nothing but wit, and that wit which turns on a play of words,"<sup>63</sup> he was not far wrong in his diagnosis. These lines, which Dryden celebrated and which became a pattern of neo-classical verse, do actually turn upon the figures that we first saw in Puttenham.

Oh could I flow like thee, and make thy stream  
My great example as it is my theme!  
Though deep, yet clear; though gentle yet not dull;  
Strong without rage; without o'erflowing, full.

The strong pauses, at which Dryden hints while observing the "sweetness" of the last couplet,<sup>64</sup> could find their sanction in Puttenham and Jonson. But observe the use of balance, antithesis, and cunning inversion within the antithesis of the last line, thereby throwing "full" under the emphasis of rhyme. It should be remembered that the pattern of this neo-classical pattern probably derived from Cartwright's elegy on Jonson in the *Jonsonus Virbius*, where these lines occur:

Giv'st the right blush and colour unto things,  
Low without creeping, high without loss of wings;  
Smooth, yet not weak, and by a thorough care,  
Big without swelling, without painting fair.<sup>65</sup>

This is how Jonson wrote, says Cartwright; and this, we may add, employs the same neo-classical devices that we observe in Denham. While this comparison suggests an undue simplification if it is mistaken for a full view of neo-classical descent, it does nevertheless re-

<sup>63</sup> *Introduction to the literature of Europe* (London, 1842), III, 31 n.

<sup>64</sup> *Essays*, II, 217-18. Although Dryden connects pauses with Malherbe, the caesura had come into English precept as far back as Puttenham and Gascoigne (cf. Egerton Smith, pp. 27-28), and had been imposed upon the heroic couplet.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Jonson's *Discoveries* (p. 78) on the middle language: "There the Language is plaine, and pleasing: even without stopping, round without swelling; all well-torn'd, compos'd, elegant, and accurate. The vitious Language is vast, and gaping, swelling, and irregular; when it contends to be high, full of Rocke, Mountaine, and pointednesse: As it affects to be low, it is abject, and creeps, full of bogs, and holes." Cartwright would appear to have absorbed Father Ben's teaching before publication, even to a turn of phrase; for he echoes Jonson rather than Jonson's source (cf. Castelain ed., p. 105).

veal a line of descent that is too often obscured. As to the figures, it can scarcely be doubted that even poets recognized, after Puttenham and Smith, that sententious figures do "after a sort beautifie the sense and very meaning of a sentence" and make "for the forcible moving of affections." And because these figures garnished "the frame of speech," we may regard them as supplying a pattern of wit.

## V

We may now glance at the last phase of the Restoration attitude toward the wit associated with Waller. Dryden's notion of wit as "a propriety of thoughts and words"<sup>66</sup> was evolved largely in opposition to this other sort of wit. As early as 1667 he began to define wit in this opposition:

'Tis not the jerk or sting of an epigram, nor the seeming contradiction of a poor antithesis (the delight of an ill-judging audience in a play of rhyme), nor the jingle of a more poor paronomasia; neither is it so much the morality of a grave sentence, affected by Lucan, but more sparingly used by Virgil; but it is some lively and apt description, dressed in such colours of speech, that it sets before your eyes the absent object, as perfectly, and more delightfully than nature.<sup>67</sup>

In this passage Dryden is in agreement with Butler's condemnation of the two sorts of quibbling. But it should be remembered that this was written while proceeding "from wit, in the general notion of it, to the proper wit of an Heroic or Historical Poem"; and that it is defining the descriptive rather than the reflective sort of neo-classical wit. In 1672 Dryden is still complaining, apropos of heroic plays, that Lucan "crowded sentences together, was too full of points, and too often offered at somewhat which had more of the sting of an epigram, than of the dignity and state of an heroic poem."<sup>68</sup> In 1700, in the *Preface to the Fables*, he reviews the "turns" which were first pointed out to him in Waller and Denham. Though Virgil, he had found, used turns discreetly in heroic poetry, Dryden was never in his own mind at ease with them in serious poetry. Here propriety again comes to the front: "The thoughts remain to be considered; and they are to be measured only by their propriety; that is, as they flow more or

<sup>66</sup> But this, Addison declares (*Spectator*, No. 62), "is not so properly a Definition of Wit, as of good Writing in general."

<sup>67</sup> *Essays*, I, 14-15.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152.



less naturally from the persons described, on such and such occasions." After praising Chaucer for the justice with which he represents the death of Arcite, Dryden asks:

What would Ovid have done on this occasion? He would certainly have made Arcite witty on his deathbed; he had complained he was further off from possession, by being so near, and a thousand such boyisms, which Chaucer rejected as below the dignity of the subject. They who think otherwise, would, by the same reason, prefer Lucan and Ovid to Homer and Virgil, and Martial to all four of them. As for the turn of words. . . .<sup>69</sup>

As may be seen, Dryden's propriety belongs to the concept of decorum, and does not exclude turns of thought, like that put into Ovid's mouth, on suitable occasions. Complaining that "he was further off from possession by being so near," is the sort of wit that Butler condemned as the "expressing of sense by contradiction."

After such remarks it will be interesting to see what Dryden does with the death of Arcite. This passage from his dying speech to Emily will suffice for our instruction:

To die, when Heav'n had put you in my Pow'r;  
Fate could not chuse a more malicious Hour!  
What greater Curse cou'd envious Fortune give,  
Than just to die when I began to live!  
Vain Men, how vanishing a Bliss we crave,  
Now warm in Love, now with'ring in the Grave!  
Never, O never more to see the Sun!  
Still dark, in a damp Vault, and still alone!  
This Fate is common; but I lose my Breath  
Near Bliss, and yet not bless'd before my Death.  
Farewell; but take me dying in your Arms,  
'Tis all I can enjoy of all your Charms:  
This Hand I cannot but in Death resign;  
Ah, could I live! But while I live 'tis mine.<sup>70</sup>

Needless to say, this is not Chaucer; nor is it unfair to say that it is closer to Ovid.<sup>71</sup> For the turn of words, the musical repetition of words (often by their derivatives), Puttenham has rhetorical names; and Spenser used the figures. As for the turn of thoughts, if we do

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 257.

<sup>70</sup> *Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Sargeaunt (London, 1929), p. 310.

<sup>71</sup> And yet Chaucer and Ovid are not always opposed in artifice of style, for Chaucer seems to have studied balanced antithesis in the school of Ovid (cf. Mary A. Hill, "Rhetorical balance in Chaucer's poetry," *PMLA*, XLII [1927], 845-61).

not get the "boyisms" of Ovid, we do get substitutes for being "further off from possession by being so near": witness the line, "Than just to die when I began to live!"; or "but I lose my Breath Near Bliss, and yet not bless'd before my Death"; or "but take me dying in your Arms, 'Tis all I can enjoy of all your Charms." It is impossible not to conclude that the neo-classical cast of verse carried a pattern of wit which was too strong even for Dryden's compunctions. Nothing can be plainer than that this verse is neither Chaucer nor yet what Dryden set himself to write. But what he did write is to be explained, as we have seen, by an antithetic mode of patterned couplets which has important antecedents in the past; it is the new style of wit which Dryden, in part, resisted.

When Addison wrote on "True and false wit," he began with Locke's notion of wit as deriving from the resemblance and congruity of ideas, on which he based his discussion. But he could not dismiss the subject without observing

that as Mr. Lock in the Passage above-mentioned has discovered the most fruitful Source of Wit, so there is another of a quite contrary Nature to it, which does likewise branch it self out into several Kinds. For not only the *Resemblance*, but the *Opposition* of Ideas does very often produce Wit; as I could shew in several little Points, Turns, and Antitheses, that I may possibly enlarge upon in some future Speculation.<sup>72</sup>

One cannot help wondering if Addison were about to set the stamp of academic approval on the wit which Butler had condemned long before. Such would appear to be the case; and if this speculation had been written, it would have included several kinds of true and false wit derived from "the opposition of ideas." If we add that Metaphysical wit commonly struck upon resemblance in incongruity, or that Cowley's "Of wit" really defines wit as the *discordia concors* of Dr. Johnson, with the stress on the *concors*, we shall have before us the chief mutations of wit in the seventeenth century. While the wit of "congruity" was directed largely against the Metaphysical wit, so was the wit of "contradiction" as found in Waller; but Dryden asserted "propriety" even against the antithetic wit, until Pope came

<sup>72</sup> *Spectator*, No. 62 (May 11, 1711). In 1710, however, Addison (*Tatler*, No. 163) had made Ned Softly admire the worst verses of Waller and "the little Gothic ornaments of epigrammatical conceits, turns, points, and quibbles, which are so frequent in the most admired of our English poets."

to harmonize the two. If the wit of expressing things by oppositions is not to be regarded as a wit of judgment, of separating differences, it is at least, as Locke says of judgment, "a Way of proceeding quite contrary to Metaphor and Allusion."

To what extent the wit of opposition became a purely formal thing may be discovered in Pope; for not infrequently in him we find the opposition without the antithesis, as in this passage from *The rape of the lock*:

On her white breast a sparkling Cross she wore,  
Which Jews might kiss, and Infidels adore.  
Her lively looks a sprightly mind disclose,  
Quick as her eyes, and as unfix'd as those:  
Favours to none, to all she smiles extends;  
Oft she rejects, but never once offends.

Here there is an opposition of epithets more seeming than real, and structural rather than significant; the wit has passed into the very design of the verse.<sup>73</sup> On the long road which we have come there are many things, both metrical and rhetorical, that culminate in these six lines; but they are all comprehended in a wit of vibrant oppositions which gave a distinct pattern to the neo-classical couplet. No doubt the Augustan "antithesis" derived its peculiar authority from the fact that "it was the verbal equivalent of an ideal," the ideal of "the mean," which is defined by opposites; but both as structural convention and as attitude of mind it was a development of the past.

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<sup>73</sup> Even those lines which are not true antitheses have a pattern of words and a rhythmic opposition that beguile the ear. Pope's "opposites" are not always the "antitheses" of Bailey's *Dictionary* (1728).



## ON THE DATE OF CONGREVE'S BIRTH

THE vexed question as to the date of William Congreve's birth was apparently settled in 1800, when Malone discovered the record of baptism, dated February 10, 1669/70. But a recent biographer, Mr. D. Crane Taylor, has brought up the matter again; and instead of making Congreve several years too young, as was formerly the practice, insists that he was even older than the record of baptism indicates.

This opinion is based upon the following information from the Registry of Trinity College, Dublin: "In the year 1685 on the 5th day of April at 10 o'clock in the evening, William Congreve, pensioner, son of William Congreve of Youghal. Sixteen years of age. Born at Bardsa in Yorkshire. Educated at school under the rule of Dr. Hinton. Tutor St. George Ashe."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Taylor notes that Congreve would have been fifteen (not sixteen) years old on entering college if he had been born only a few days before his baptism on February 10, 1670, as has usually been supposed; and therefore, he contends, the dramatist must have been born in 1669. Enlarging upon this argument, Mr. A. W. Pollard points out that it might push the date of birth back even a year earlier: "Since the date of Congreve's admission was 5 April, he would still only have been sixteen had he been born on 6 April or any subsequent date in 1668."<sup>2</sup> But Mr. Taylor's argument overlooks one important fact: the academic year at Trinity College, from 1669 to 1770, began, not on January 1, but on July 9. Thus the entry in the Registry for April 5, 1685, was actually for the calendar year 1686,<sup>3</sup> when Congreve—born in February, 1670—was already sixteen years old.

<sup>1</sup> D. Crane Taylor, *William Congreve* (London, 1931), pp. 14, 15, quoting Malone's translation. The Latin entry in the Registry (according to *Notes and queries* [3d ser.], XI, 280) is as follows: "1685. Die quinto Aprilis, hora diei pomerid., Gulielmus Congreve, pension., filius Gulielmi Congreve, generosi, de Youghallia, annos natus sexdecem, natus Bardsagram, in com. Eboracen.; educ. Kilkenniae, sub ferula Doctoris Hinton, Tutor, St. Georgius Ashe."

<sup>2</sup> *Library*, XII (1932), 122.

<sup>3</sup> See *Alumni Dublinenses, a register of the students, graduates, professors, and provosts of Trinity College, in the University of Dublin*, ed. G. D. Burtcheall and T. U. Sadleir (London, 1924), p. x. This work records (p. 168) the actual date of the admission of Congreve—April 5, 1686. But even if Congreve had entered college in the calendar year 1685 instead of 1686, the statement that he was sixteen years old at the time would not be con-

The origin of the mystification around Congreve's birth has never been pointed out. It deserves some attention if for no other reason than that it tends to clear Congreve of the stigma of wilfully misrepresenting his age. During the eighteenth century the further charge was made by Samuel Johnson and others that Congreve misstated the place of his birth because of a snobbish desire to be thought a native of England. This accusation was adequately refuted when Malone discovered the record of baptism in Yorkshire. But that Congreve forgot, or pretended to forget, or deliberately falsified the date of his birth has continued to be the general opinion.<sup>4</sup>

There is no record that Congreve ever stated his age except on admission to Trinity College, Dublin. And the truth of that statement, as we have seen, is supported by the record of baptism. In the dedication of the *Old batchelor*, acted and published early in 1693, Congreve speaks of "almost four Years Experience" of London life since writing the play,<sup>5</sup> thus indicating 1689 as the year of composition. This interval of four years between the writing and the acting was probably in the mind of Charles Gildon when he wrote, in the first printed account of Congreve's life (1699), that the *Old batchelor* "was writ, when our Author was but Nineteen Years Old, and in nothing alter'd, but in the Length."<sup>6</sup> To the best of our knowledge Gildon is correct: Congreve was nineteen at the time of the writing of his first play in 1689. All would have been well except for the misinterpretation of Gildon by the next writer.

The account of Congreve in *The poetical register* (1719) has been given unusual weight because the author, Giles Jacob, asserts that he obtained from the dramatist himself the facts of his life.<sup>7</sup> Jacob states

clusive proof of a birth year earlier than 1670; for, as Mr. Sadleir notes (p. x), the University Registry often gives the age as that of the next birthday.

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Edmund Gosse, *Life of William Congreve* (New York, 1924), p. 1; Dragosh Protopopescu, *William Congreve, sa vie, son œuvre* (Paris, 1924), p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Five years later, in 1698, Congreve again calls attention to the fact that the *Old batchelor* was written "some years before it was acted." See *Amendments of Mr. Collier's false and imperfect citations, &c.*, in *The mourning bride, poems, & miscellanies by William Congreve*, ed. Bonamy Dobrée (London, 1928), p. 423.

<sup>6</sup> Gerard Langbaine, *The lives and characters of the English dramatic poets. . . . First begun by Mr. Langbaine, improv'd and continued to this time, by a careful hand* [Charles Gildon] (London, 1699), p. 25. The italics are mine. Gildon's introductory remarks indicate that the article on Congreve was written by some assistant.

<sup>7</sup> See the preface. Jacob's assertion is substantiated by a letter from Congreve to Edmund Curll (or to Jacob) dated July 7, 1719. This letter is given by Dobrée, pp. 531, 532.

for the first time the birthplace of Congreve in Yorkshire and adds to our knowledge regarding his ancestry and education. This is evidently the information that he had secured directly from the poet. Jacob does not state the year of Congreve's birth. He does say, however, that the *Old bachelor* was both written and acted when the author was only nineteen, thus representing him to be several years younger than he was.<sup>8</sup> This statement is apparently a misinterpretation of Gildon's earlier account, from which Jacob quotes and paraphrases freely. Jacob's misstatement was natural if he assumed, as he evidently did, that the play was written and produced within the same year. To hold Congreve responsible for the misinformation is hardly reasonable since he had stated very clearly in his dedication of the *Old bachelor*, and again in his reply to Collier, that several years had elapsed between the writing and the acting of the play. If any blame attaches to him, it is probably only that of failing to correct the printed error of Jacob.

Apparently the exact year of Congreve's birth never appeared in print during his career in London; it was left to be inferred from his age at the time of the composition of his first play or of his retirement from dramatic writing. It remained for one of Curll's hack writers,<sup>9</sup> the year following Congreve's death, to state the exact year in which the dramatist was born—1672; and in so doing he helped to establish the error for which Congreve has been blamed.

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<sup>8</sup> See pp. 42, 45. Jacob also says that Congreve quit writing for the stage at the age of twenty-seven—an age evidently arrived at on the basis of his misinformation regarding the *Old bachelor*.

<sup>9</sup> Charles Wilson (*Memoirs of the life, writings, and amours of William Congreve, Esq.* [London, 1730], p. 1) probably inferred the date of Congreve's birth from the account by Jacob, possibly influenced by some lines in one of the prologues intended for the *Old bachelor*:

"As for our Youngster, I am apt to doubt him:  
With all the Vigour of his Youth about him;  
But he, more Sanguine, trusts in one and twenty,  
And impudently hopes he shall content you."

It is not clear whether Lord Falkland, the author of this prologue, meant that the play was written when the author was twenty-one or that it was acted when he was twenty-one. Perhaps he wished only to suggest Congreve's youth rather than to give an exact age. A further difficulty lies in the uncertainty of the date at which the prologue was written: either when the play was being rehearsed in 1692 or just before it was acted in 1693, after the delay occasioned by the murder of the actor William Mountfort and the trial of Lord Mohun.





## BOOK REVIEWS

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*English poetry and the English language: An experiment in literary history.* By F. W. BATESON. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934. Pp. vii+129.

The secondary title of Mr. Bateson's book is indicative of the growing suspicion that a critical point has been reached in literary scholarship; that, in short, either the literary historians have traveled along the traditional paths as far as they are likely to go in producing results commensurate with the necessary effort, or they have been on the wrong track altogether. It has been becoming increasingly clear that much of what has been called literary history is in reality the history of ideas, or biography, or social and political history, or collected critical essays, or some combination of genres like these. It appears, in fact, that we have scarcely raised the relevant questions for the writing of the history of literature as literature. Mr. Bateson devotes his introduction to stating such a conviction and to pointing the way to greener pastures. Starting with the assumption that history is a study of changes, and that literary history should concern itself with the study of the changes in those things which are essential to literature as such, he proposes to study the changes in language and the effect of these alterations on the various styles of English poetry.

There is no question concerning either the relevance or the plausibility of his analysis, though there may be concerning its completeness; and in our present uncertainty such discussion helps to clear the air. Mr. Bateson's notion of clearing the air is to summon a tornado. What he cleverly calls "the Authorized Version of the history of English Literature" is, he believes, through: "The -isms and the -ations are utterly and finally discredited" (p. 2). Yet even Mr. Bateson cannot refrain from reference to such things as the effect of "the intellectualism of the age" on Augustan poetry, or to the "coming not only of the romantic movement in poetry but of the hundred other movements in the life and thought that went to make up the Victorian complex" (p. 98). Either the authorized version is still too deeply ingrained to permit whole-hearted heresy and desecration or else even the purely literary historian occasionally finds it indispensable. Mr. Bateson seems a little overanxious, at least in his tone, to minimize the usefulness of the older approaches. Though they have often dealt with anything but literary history, they have been productive of some brilliant and useful results. It is due to such studies, for instance, that we no longer take stock in the naïve and confident application of such shibboleths as classical, romantic, and the like. If

Mr. Bateson has dealt intelligently with the changes in prose style during the Enlightenment, it is largely because he has been aware of studies quite remote from *belles-lettres*.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the validity of the fundamental features of his argument must be acknowledged: little of what passes under that name has actually been literary history, and especially in the dilutions of the handbooks and the formulas of class study, the scholarship of the last fifty years often seems strangely remote from the artistic traditions of literature. And it must further be emphasized that proposals such as this of Mr. Bateson have a deeper significance than the further multiplication, Polonius-like, of distinctions in historical *cadres*. They call attention to the fact that we have for so long been immersed in antiquarianism, or in research which takes literature in its stride merely as contributory documentation, that we are often uncertain in dealing with what is essentially literary in it; we step aside helplessly, albeit condescendingly, at that point for the literary critic.

Mr. Bateson's main study, moreover, shows us how fruitful his hypothesis can be in new and useful ideas. Beginning with the assumption that "poetry develops *pari passu* with the words it uses, that its history is a part of the general history of language, and that its changes of style and mood are merely the reflection of changing tendencies in the uses to which language is being put" (p. 25), he traces the changes in poetical style as a function of language, and succeeds in bringing together from this point of view a number of interesting ideas and suggestions about particular styles of poetry, and incidentally about poetry in general. Especially effective—though not full enough to be entirely satisfactory or free from disputable implications—are the discussions of the repetitious imagery and structure of late sixteenth-century verse; of the complexity and obscurity of metaphysical poetry; of the "cumulative" structure and poetic diction of what he not too happily calls the "baroque" style in eighteenth-century poetry; and of the thin and dilute qualities of certain Victorian verse.

Other topics dealt with are not lacking, to be sure, in interesting ideas. The material on the Augustans presents clearly the inevitable move toward polish and perspicuity in the use of language, and the consequent cultivation of clarity and logical form in poetry. But a logical, progressive structure and preservation mainly of the denotative values of words are just the qualities which Mr. Bateson determines to be the essential conditions of prose, as opposed to poetry (pp. 14–24). He is consequently in some difficulty to explain wherein the Augustans wrote poetry, since he describes their verse in much the same terms as he uses to define prose. There is, of course, a kind of beauty inherent in absolute clarity and precision, and the mechanics of Augustan verse tended to accentuate this value. Pope occasionally could write

<sup>1</sup> The discussion of the changes in prose style might have been made a little more subtle by reference to Morris Croll's studies of this topic. Incidentally, these have another interest in this connection since they represent sound literary history in the best sense of that term.

lines both colorful and rich in imagery: "Where slumber abbotts, purple as their wines." But these are seldom noted, because the effect of the couplet is to direct attention to the precise rather than to the diffuse elements in the completed phrase. Yet mere clarity by itself cannot produce the tension and excitement essential to any style of poetry. Mr. Bateson realizes this, and, being a better critic than those who therefore conclude that the Augustans did not write poetry, looks for this added virtue and finds it to consist in "energy." Unfortunately, this term does not adequately explain the phenomenon: Marlowe's verse has energy, Wordsworth's often has. The essential point is the particular form which this energy assumes. There is a clue in Johnson's statement that "the essence of poetry is invention, such invention as, by producing something unexpected, surprises and delights." The "mechanical basis of the thrill" in Augustan poetry is to be found in the combination of sharp delineation with unusual juxtaposition of ideas: for the expected effect of clarity and logical progression is not continual surprise; yet a writer like Pope, by combining antithesis and paradox with sharp and unerring diction, manages to keep the mind constantly alert and in a state of tension:

Wit that can creep, and pride that licks the dust.

A being darkly wise, and rudely great.

Born but to die, and reasoning but to err.<sup>2</sup>

And even in Augustan lyrical verse, the effect is often the same because the structure of the poem depends on an interesting or unexpected combination of ideas or sentiments.<sup>3</sup>

With his analysis of eighteenth-century poetry in mind, Mr. Bateson traces a considerable part of the trouble of the early nineteenth-century poets to the loss of the connotative force of words during the developments of the eighteenth century: ". . . . Every word, every idiom that the eighteenth century had trimmed and tamed was potentially treacherous. They had been 'treated' for non-romantic purposes . . ." (p. 95); they had been "whittled to the purity of mathematical symbols" (p. 96). It is probably only in mathematics that such a condition prevails. Except as individual words acquire a greater degree of specialization through use and through increase in synonyms by additions to the vocabulary of the language, it would seem unlikely that the situation described by Mr. Bateson can ever be realized. In

<sup>2</sup> Pope is merely the most polished and consistent practitioner of this device. The trick is the same, for instance, in Dryden's "But Shadwell never deviates into sense," or in Rochester's "But all men would be cowards if they durst."

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Bateson's description of the structure of Augustan verse as logical can apply chiefly to certain lyrical verse or else to short fragments from longer poems—and, indeed, it is the weakness of most of his structural analyses that they are conducted within these limitations. It will not describe, for instance, the form of Book I of the *Essay on man*. The term "contrapuntal" seems more appropriate for this in the sense that the poem consists of a weaving-together, with variations, of a number of related ideas, like the themes of a fugue, rather than of a systematic, progressive analysis or argument.

any event, it is the phrase, and not the individual word, which determines how the symbols will behave; so that even if it were possible to divorce connotations completely from words taken by themselves, as Mr. Bateson suggests, the context will always increase their importance, figures of speech can intensify and even provide them. During the best days of Augustan perspicuity Pope could write, "Nor hallowed dirge he muttered o'er thy tomb"—a line in which words certainly do not behave like mathematical symbols. But there is an added weakness in Mr. Bateson's argument, since the feature which nineteenth-century poets directly objected to in eighteenth-century poetry was not so much its perspicuity as its use of such devices as "poetic diction." Now poetic diction, on whatever score it might be defended, did not suffer from preciseness but from a lack of it: in so far as it tended to establish a special, and therefore artificial, diction for poetry, it tended also to limit the poet's range of choice; and in so far as, in such popular verbal tricks as "gentle race" or "finny tribe," it was metaphorical in aspect, it ranged even farther away from the mechanical conditions for exactness. At the same time, being conventional, poetic diction was incapable of subtleties in the matter of emotional suggestion. It was probably for this reason denounced by the Romantics; for they were interested less in describing the objects or ideas of their interests than the "powerful feelings" which these induced. This accounts for the frequent series of analogies, similes, metaphors, which, by suggesting the emotional effects of a variety of concrete objects or experiences, attempt to define the precise range of feelings which the poet wishes to attach to his main theme: they constitute, that is, an orchestration of appropriate emotional suggestion (note, e.g., the opening stanza of Shelley's "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty," the series of similes in "To a skylark," Stanza VIII of Wordsworth's "Ode: Intimations of immortality"). It may well be, consequently, that the approximations and blurred outlines which Mr. Bateson tends to blame on the poet's difficulties with an unsuitable language may be less the fault of the language than of the difficulties involved in the aim. Certainly the language did not seem in their way in their more brilliant emotionally intense passages; yet consistency is too much to expect in so delicate a matter, and failure could produce only banality or opaqueness and shapelessness.<sup>4</sup>

If not all the possible objections which a reader might raise are due to the

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Bateson follows an analogous procedure in describing the situation in the Victorian era: the poets had fewer lapses, but fewer great moments, chiefly because they found a suitable language which they could use but which was yet a "flabby and submissive thing" (p. 102). It is a little difficult at times to decide how much Mr. Bateson understands by "language." It may certainly be conceded that the Victorians, having been bequeathed by the Romantics a rich poetical literature with a style that suited their purposes, were saved the necessity of working out an appropriate medium, and that they consequently paid the penalty for being an age of polishers, refiners, and variationists of an older tradition. In addition, relieved of the problem of style, they inclined to emphasize the subject (see p. 105), certainly a fatal change in emphasis for a poet and one which may be responsible for many of the weaknesses of Victorian verse.

remarkable compactness of Mr. Bateson's book,<sup>5</sup> some of them no doubt are. Many of the minor questions might disappear in a fuller discussion; for example, there is scarcely a single quotation to illustrate the characteristics which are attributed to early romantic poetry. The book is admittedly a "proposal." In that respect, too, it is not in keeping with the current traditions of historical scholarship, which demand exhaustive documentation and definitiveness of treatment. Such traditions are useful in that they are intended to discourage scrappy and undigested productions; but they have also tended to foster monuments of documentation unsupported by large ideas, and they have also tended to delay, sometimes indefinitely, important and well-considered suggestions. Mr. Bateson's reasoning is always stimulating and his illustrations effective. Though he has not finally established his basic theory, he has produced in terms of it some striking ideas for which the reader must be grateful. Occasionally, in the physical sciences, a hypothesis which has not been demonstrated beyond probability may, by focusing on a new arrangement of variables, produce valuable and verifiable results that would have been difficult to ascertain without it. Mr. Bateson's book succeeds in putting a number of common observations in a new light, and in suggesting some new ones. We may look forward with anticipation to the larger study which he is contemplating.

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*English literature and culture in Russia (1553-1840).* By ERNEST J. SIMMONS. ("Harvard studies in comparative literature," No. 12.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935. Pp. viii+357.

Mr. Simmons' book fills a long-felt want in the study of foreign influences on the development of Russian literature and culture, for, as the author points out in his preface, such studies are available in the case of the influences of France and Germany, while the rôle of England in this field is comparatively little known. Even in Russian there is no comprehensive work devoted to the entire extent of English influence upon Russia's thought. Mr. Simmons is to be greatly commended for the manner in which he has performed his task, producing a book which, readable and interesting though it is to any cultured

<sup>5</sup> From the very nature of the subject, each reader will find himself varying from the author on incidental questions of theory. One of these is too important to avoid noting. Mr. Bateson believes that "the best criticism, because the least irrelevant" is that of the poets themselves—a point which is highly controversial. But the conclusion drawn from this premise is even more striking: "A serious history of English poetry only becomes possible in the Elizabethan period" because "of the earlier poetry almost no contemporary criticism has survived" (p. 26). We are probably to assume that it is not possible to deal correctly with Chaucer in a historical study of English poetry because there is no criticism contemporary with him! Actually, it would seem more reasonable to assume that one who wishes to write about the history of poetry should have suitable and adequate critical ideas, in which case it becomes relatively unimportant whether the poets had any.

layman, is at the same time of real help to the specialist. It is true that the bibliographies attached to each chapter are by no means exhaustive, but they do not pretend to be; on the whole, so far as the present reviewer can see, the really important sources have not been neglected.

The period which the study covers—the years 1553–1840—is of course the most important one for the history of foreign influences operating in Russia. During the first part of the period—the reign of Ivan the Terrible—these influences were of a purely commercial and diplomatic character, as Russian secular literature was still practically nonexistent. England's strong prestige at this time was due chiefly to the political situation, as Russia was rather cut off from the rest of Europe by her interminable wars with her immediate neighbors on her west and northwest boundaries—Poland and Sweden. The literary influence of Western Europe begins to be really felt in the second half of the eighteenth century, especially during the reign of Catherine II, when English contemporary literature in all its forms was much admired and imitated in Russia.

The great climax of the English influence came, however, in the first half of the nineteenth century, when Walter Scott, and especially Byron, became the real idols of Russian poets and prose writers. Pushkin and Lermontov are of course the best-known examples, but there are a host of others, now almost forgotten, yet immensely popular in their day, who worshiped at the shrine of literary revelation that came from British shores.

After 1840, when with Gogol the Russian realistic novel comes of age, Russian literature proceeds along a more independent path. This does not mean, however, that the popularity of English literature diminished. On the contrary, no other Western author was more read and admired in Russia than Dickens, for instance. Yet, quite naturally, his influence and that of his contemporaries could not condition the development of Russian literary thought as much as had the English writers of the earlier periods.

It is pleasant, indeed, to commend Mr. Simmons' book to the attention of those interested in the history of Russia's cultural and literary past.

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*Milton's blindness.* By ELEANOR GERTRUDE BROWN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934. Pp. 167.

Generally sound, though not original in its conclusions, and thorough, though at times repetitious, this study of Milton's blindness is enriched by a sympathy best stated in the author's preface:

Blindness came upon Milton in adult life, but it has been a part of my life as far back as I can remember. . . . To the interpretation of Milton's life and writings after the loss of sight, I add my knowledge of blindness. And on account of



this bond of union, I bring to the task an interest such as Milton must have given to the writing of *Samson Agonistes*.

This interest is revealed especially in Parts II, III, and IV, entitled respectively "Autobiographical references to his blindness," "Milton as reflected in his poetry," and "Milton's eyes take a holiday." It is only fair to say that on the whole Miss Brown reveals a true insight into Milton's character and work and a knowledge of medical opinion and related discussion that can come only from long and intensive study.

The first chapter, presenting for the general reader a useful survey of medical knowledge and practice in the seventeenth century, sketches the substantial achievements in medicine and points out the common reliance upon ancient medical authority, the prevalence of superstition, and the lack of proper diagnosis and treatment. Since, as a rule, apothecaries prescribed, barbers operated, and quackery abounded, there is little wonder that Milton went blind and that regarding him ophthalmological information is indefinite. This lack of adequate data prevents the investigator from arriving at definite conclusions regarding the causes, or the cause, of Milton's blindness. After thoroughly reviewing the contemporary evidence and the various fantastic views of Mutschmann and Saurat, which are, I think, considered and refuted with undue pains, Miss Brown takes up glaucoma and myopia and detachment of the retina as causes. A careful sifting of all the facts and opinions leads her to the cautious conclusion that in view of the lack of definite ophthalmological evidence "the cause of Milton's blindness remains, and must remain, unsolved." It may be added, however, that Miss Brown perhaps fails to give due weight to Dr. William H. Wilmer's reason for rejecting detachment of the retina as a cause: that such detachment usually occurs suddenly and is followed by noticeable cataracts, symptoms that do not characterize Milton's disease (see W. H. Wilmer, "The blindness of Milton," *JEGP*, XXXII, 305-6). Dr. Wilmer's evidence and arguments that glaucoma was the cause of Milton's blindness seem to me cogent.

This concludes Part I, "The cause of Milton's blindness," which presents perhaps Miss Brown's most solid work. In the other sections she ventures upon criticism and interpretation, with results that are sometimes interesting but not always happy. For example, in the chapter "The sonnets" she declares that *Paradise lost*, *Paradise regained*, and *Samson agonistes* have for her less appeal than Milton's first sonnet on his blindness—a limited criticism, to say the least. Again, without valid arguments, Miss Brown would date this sonnet 1655, in the same year as Sonnet XXII, the second sonnet on his blindness. This date conflicts with Smart's statement that the sonnet was "composed when the calamity was fresh"—a statement supported by internal evidence. There is also a confusing account of Sonnet XXXIII: Miss Brown believes that in his dream Milton saw his wife, and she represents scholars as denying this. She is quite mistaken. Smart, for example, says, "Milton recognizes

his wife in spite of the veil." The other matter concerns the meaning of "Her face was vail'd. . . ." From a study of the dreams of the blind, Miss Brown believes that Milton could have seen his wife's face. Therefore, she abandons the usual explanation, that in this expression Milton refers to his blindness during their married life, and offers other interpretations: that the Alcestis parallel suggested the veil, and that the veil is part of her shroud. I prefer the older explanation.

Miss Brown is rather perverse in her interpretation of the famous passage on light (*Paradise lost*, III, 1-55); she cannot believe "that Milton meant to leave with his readers the thought of his privation as such" (p. 61). Surely this is to deny the plain sense of lines 40-50, charged with the most poignant grief of one surrounded by ever during darkness. Again, pleading that Milton as an artist might have written the apostrophe to light, she insists that the autobiographical passages should not be too literally interpreted. Later, she declares that *Paradise lost* "could not fail to possess some personal elements," and that it may to some extent "be regarded as the mirror of Milton's past mental struggles . . ." (p. 86). She then traces a parallel between Milton and Satan, and insists upon certain detailed resemblances, as in I, 250-57 and 300-330, the latter Satan's call to his fallen legions, which reminds her of "Milton's ejection of that stunned inaction which had resulted from his blindness." Certainly a far-fetched comparison. Of course, no one will deny that Milton's experiences made possible the creation of Satan. But this noting of detailed resemblances is hazardous. On the other hand, in "Breaking the image," Miss Brown, embracing her first principle and defying a host of critics, protests against the autobiographical interpretation of *Samson agonistes*. She believes that Milton had other than personal reasons for choosing Samson: the plot could be shaped to conform to the rules of Greek drama; he had all the attributes of the hero of Greek tragedy; he was a famous character and illustrated the peculiar sin of disobedience. Probably Milton was influenced by these considerations. But Miss Brown insists, moreover, that Milton did not consciously voice his own feelings, "unless, perhaps, they are echoed by the chorus or others." No critic insists upon Milton's complete identification of himself with Samson, with the Samson abandoned by hope, scorned by his captors, and oppressed by his betrayal of God. In other respects, however, in blindness and heroic courage and pride and firm faith Milton and Samson are spiritually akin. The argument that *Samson agonistes* is deliberately impersonal is unconvincing.

In the last part, "Milton's eyes take a holiday," Miss Brown deals especially with the personal aspects of Milton's blindness, with its effects upon his domestic life and his methods of work. She seems justified in assuming that after his blindness Milton resumed a fairly normal mode of life, that his spiritual life was quickened, that the emphasis shifted from study to creation, and that in spite of his affliction he scrupulously revised and corrected his work. However, Miss Brown is certainly mistaken in declaring that Milton

wrote far more prose after his blindness than before. She assumes, for example, that he wrote most of *The history of Britain* after his loss of sight. But it is known that four books were finished by March, 1649. Again, she implies that the *De doctrina Christiana* was also written after 1652. But it is clear that part of that work was compiled long before (see Arthur Sewell, "Milton's *De doctrina Christiana*," in *Essays and studies* [1934], p. 43; Sewell also insists upon revision after 1655). The fact is that the greater part of Milton's prose was written before his loss of sight.

Incidentally, it should be noted that Miss Brown has just reversed the values of "thir" and "their" (p. 119), and that S. A. Nook should read S. A. Nock (p. 45, n. 10).

In conclusion, it must be said that the merits of this sane and sympathetic study far outweigh its defects. One of the chief values is that it assesses Milton's blindness at its true value, neither underestimating nor exaggerating the greatness of the calamity, and wisely condemning the tendency of some scholars to attribute to his blindness the selection and quality of his poetic images. Miss Brown remembers that Milton was first and last a great poet, who from a wealth of material "selected definite images for definite purposes of art." Where some Milton scholars, having eyes yet seeing not, have gone astray, Miss Brown, in spite of what to most students would have been an insuperable handicap, has mastered her subject and kept a true course. The result is a study interesting and illuminating.

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*Sir William Davenant, poet venturer, 1606-1668.* By ALFRED HARBAGE. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935. Pp. 317.

Although Professor Harbage states in his preface that the present book was virtually completed shortly after his biography of Thomas Killigrew, published some five years ago, it will always remain a mystery why such a book was not written long before, either by him or by someone else. The late Dr. Risteen, I have been informed by his assistant, once started to gather material for one, and the late G. Thorn-Drury, as shown by his personally annotated copy of D'Avenant's plays now in my possession, once contemplated either a new edition or a biography. But these men, and perhaps others, were probably intimidated by the magnitude of the task facing them, since D'Avenant had his finger in so many seventeenth-century pies. Recently, however, the labor has been made much easier through the publication of such works as Leslie Hotson's *The Commonwealth and Restoration stage* and Allardyce Nicoll's *Restoration drama*, both dealing in considerable part with D'Avenant's purely theatrical activities, and Hazleton Spencer's *Shakespeare improved*, which has brought together the results of innumerable German,

English, and American theses and articles on the Caroline laureate's Shakespearean adaptations and added much valuable new material of its own.

Harbage's book therefore fills a surprising gap in English literary biography, and fills it extremely well. For one thing, it is written much more interestingly than his study of the rival Restoration theater manager, Thomas Killigrew; the reader can enjoy the book not only for what is said but for how it is said. For another thing, the author has performed his obligations of research with considerable thoroughness, and has missed very little of essential importance to the life which he is drawing. He has not only skimmed the cream of what the few meager biographers and investigators of modern times, such as Maidment and Logan, Killis Campbell, Hyder Rollins, and Leslie Hotson (in his unpublished Harvard thesis), had discovered, but he has added a large amount of genuinely new material, culled, it is true, mostly from printed works, but nevertheless never before brought together under D'Avenant's name. He is therefore able to present a living picture of the poet's youth, in his chapters entitled "A taverner's son" and "Footloose in London," and then to go on to a detailed panorama of "The Queen's service," "The King's cause," "The venturer," and "Players restored." These chapters, about three-fifths of the book, complete the biographical section; the remaining five are devoted to a summary and appraisal of D'Avenant's literary compositions.

Any general criticism of the book would therefore have to be leveled more at the interpretation of the accumulated facts than at the facts themselves. Harbage's introduction leads up to what he calls a "confession":

The present writer admires Davenant, and the present study is admittedly a vindication of Davenant as a man and an author. . . . One word of reassurance may be offered, lest anyone suspect that the impulse to whitewash may survive even in our generation—not one fact which the records have yielded up, and by no means all of them are creditable, has been suppressed.

In these very two sentences a conflict is implied—a conflict which is not quite satisfactorily reconciled in the characterization of the hero. At several important points in the narrative the biographer is forced to admit or imply the presence of elements alien to the generally attractive picture he is painting: the evidence in John Davenant's will that the boy William was regarded as a potential trouble-maker who had best be removed promptly from the domestic scene; D'Avenant's three marital ventures and their apparent motives; his treatment of his stepsons acquired through his second marriage; his temporizing with, even his flattering of, the Cromwellian party when he was finally released from the Tower; the lawsuits in which he was constantly engaged as the result of somewhat questionable dealings in certain theatrical businesses; even the posthumous conduct of his financial affairs through his failure to make a will—a failure which thus allowed his family to devise a shrewd expedient to escape his creditors. Harbage's frank desire to free his subject from

the taint of scandal which has persistently clung to him and prevented the recognition of his true merits has not only led to the complete rejection of the "Shakespeare's son" stories (which are, after all, unprovable either negatively or positively) but also to a neglect of the extremely interesting suggestions about phases of D'Avenant's life which are afforded by a careful scrutiny of the many satirical verses, such as *Certain verses written by severall of the authors friends* and *The incomparable poem Gondibert vindicated*, which were recurrently making their slanderous attacks upon him. Perhaps Harbage has not consciously suppressed any facts which he has discovered, but in my opinion he has not always given them their due weight in evolving his final view. Hotson's evaluation of D'Avenant the man in *The Commonwealth and Restoration stage* consequently seems to me to be nearer the truth than the new one.

A similar bareness in several portions of the picture also arises from Harbage's failure to make full use of some of the other material which was available to him. He omits all reference to D'Avenant's claims to a Lombardian ancestry, though these form an amusing supplement to the poet's insertion of the apostrophe in the family name as part of his campaign for aristocracy. (And since I believe that in the seventeenth century as well as today a man had a legal right to alter his name as whimsically as he desired, I cannot comprehend the modern insistence on depriving D'Avenant of a mere mark of punctuation if he derived any pleasure from its presence.) The line, "D'Avenant from Avon comes" (quoted on p. 19), of course may have been distorted into an allusion to the Shakespearean rumors, but it actually refers to the family relationship to Bishop John Davenant, whose see at Salisbury was on the lesser Avon in Wiltshire, though the reference occurs in a group of poems in which the Lombardian claims and the apostrophic spelling are ridiculed. The treatment of D'Avenant's service under Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, and the latter's influence upon him would have been more concrete and persuasive if it had been realized that the poem entitled "To the Lord B." was written, as an attentive perusal quickly reveals, to him whom the young poet calls his "chief of lords," Lord Brooke himself; but Harbage is forced to remark regretfully that no tribute such as Daniel's to Greville has "reached us from the pen of Davenant." Later in the laureate's career, the account of his activities during the early days of the civil war could have been enriched somewhat from the story of how D'Avenant outfitted two frigates, and how these were impounded by the Dutch, as related in E. S. de Beer's article in *Notes and queries*, CLIII, 327. It is, moreover, perhaps not necessary to be quite so ruthless in rejecting the pretty legend of how D'Avenant and Milton aided each other in their mutual political difficulties, especially since Helen Darbishire in *The early lives of Milton* accepts it. The discussion of D'Avenant's visit to Jersey as a member of the party sent to bring Prince Charles to France would have benefited from a reading of S. E. Hoskins' *Charles the Second in the Channel Islands*. The most interesting episode of all, however, the tale of Sir

William's abortive expedition to the New World, could have been recounted in really vivid detail if Harbage had actually gone to Jean Chevalier's journal instead of being content with W. R. Richardson's recent brief summary of the passage in the first number of *ELH*.

The foregoing are a few specimens of instances in which the story of Will D'Avenant has suffered slightly through incompleteness of detail, though these instances are of no really serious consequence. There is one case, however, in which Professor Harbage's failure to press his research to its ultimate conclusion has resulted in real damage to his book. Although he is the first biographer to have applied to William D'Avenant the poet the contents of a document which is summarized in the domestic *Calendar of state papers* for 1638 and which concerns the king's pardon of one William D'Avenant for murder, he has assumed that this crime took place shortly before the pardon, as would indeed appear unless one followed the case back through the records. As a matter of fact, the offense occurred six years before and not in London at all. Accordingly, Harbage's chronicle of D'Avenant's career and state of mind during this important period is often considerably askew. Several formerly cryptic passages in the poet's writing become really significant when the various stages in this episode are revealed. These questions, which involve his relations with the Princes Palatine and Endymion Porter, his constant complaining of "faction" against him, his appointment to the laureateship, and perhaps the blocking of his ambition to build a large new theater before the Commonwealth, I hope to deal with more fully at a later time.

These are errors of omission. A few errors of commission might also be cited. Since D'Avenant died in 1668 and Anne Killigrew lived until 1685, it is scarcely plausible to identify her with the "A. K." of the "Epitaph on a young virgin." The ode "To the King on Newyeares Day, 1630" would of course have been composed in 1631 according to modern chronology. Since Ford's *Love's sacrifice* was probably not produced until 1630, it is hardly correct to say that it was concurrent with D'Avenant's first two tragedies, written two or three years earlier. Harbage may be forgiven, however, for stating that D'Avenant's ordnance accounts for 1645 show that he expended over £13,000, since that is the figure erroneously printed in the report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission; F. M. C. Turner, librarian of Magdalene College, Cambridge, where the Pepys MSS are kept, has, however, kindly furnished me with a copy of this document, which shows that the sum was really only slightly over £1,300. Finally, although the book is on the whole remarkably free from typographical errors, the author seems to vacillate rather weakly between Roxalana and Roxolana as the proper spelling of the name of Solyman's wife in *The siege of Rhodes*.

The critical portion of any such work as this is naturally less open to factual analysis than the biographical. In this section Professor Harbage has provided a thorough discussion of D'Avenant's accomplishments in the epic,

the lyric, the dramatic, the operatic, and the critical fields, and in so doing has substantiated his claims to his author's considerable importance as a more significant figure in seventeenth-century literature than several others which are much better known today. Sometimes this discussion partakes more of the nature of a summary or analysis than of genuine criticism, but, except in the case of the early tragedies, the judgments are generally sound. On the whole, Harbage prefers to deal with D'Avenant more as a literary man than as a producer and scenic experimenter whose influence on the theater from this point of view led directly to the development of the modern stage.

The preceding comments, however, can do no serious harm to an absorbing and valuable book, which has long been needed. Most of them, in fact, would not occur to any person but one who had recently been treading the same ground as Professor Harbage, and not very far from his heels. The student of the seventeenth century will certainly look forward with anticipation to the third work in this series—the one which is announced in the preface as “a survey of the entire dramatic output of the years of Killigrew's and Davenant's activity—the Caroline, Commonwealth, and early Restoration era.”

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*Primitivism and the idea of progress in English popular literature of the eighteenth century.* By LOIS WHITNEY. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1934. Pp. xii+343.

Primitivism we have always with us, although it has not often appeared among the poor in the commonwealth of ideas. The idea of progress, its logical antithesis, has only in relatively recent times been established as an important normative conception, and although it is still one of the ruling popular prepossessions of our day, it has not escaped opposition, nor has it relegated to mere insignificance the basic moods and convictions inherent in the primitivistic idea. During the eighteenth century, in particular the later half, both ideas seemed equally prominent: primitivism was an established point of view, and progressivism was gaining new adherents and widening its philosophical defenses; surviving issues and new conditions encouraged their application to the contemporary scene; science and exploration supplied new materials for their illustration; and an increasing public was being made conscious of them both. It is this highly interesting period in the history of these ideas that Miss Whitney deals with in her excellent book, in which she analyzes the important philosophies from which they drew their support, the related and separable components of which they were made up, and their popular diffusion, as well as confusion.

The setting for Miss Whitney's account is concisely and effectively supplied



in a foreword by Professor A. O. Lovejoy. Not all the fundamental discriminations which Professor Lovejoy distinguishes as allied or discrete logical units contained in these conceptions find extended consideration in the book, since Miss Whitney is not primarily concerned with writing a history of these ideas, or in providing documentary illustration of nuances and associations that relate to an early stage in their development. For example, seventeenth-century writers, such as Bacon, based their optimism about the future of mankind on the accelerating accumulation of accretions to knowledge and the increasing application of this knowledge to technological improvements for the uses of life. Later eighteenth-century writers did not so much disregard this aspect as take it for granted; they were interested in newer contributions to the idea and applications to more directly pertinent problems. It is to the immediate background that Miss Whitney calls attention: avoiding the common defect of merely grouping miscellaneous anticipations of the writers she wishes to emphasize, she analyzes the various general philosophies—for instance, optimism and the chain of being, associationism, the ethics of benevolence, etc.—which, by suggesting logical affinities, provided soil and encouragement, often in very unexpected ways, as Miss Whitney shows us, to one or another of these ideas.

This analysis involves a separation of the various elements inherent in each of these conceptions, and a consideration of the logical and other motives which determined the direction from which the idea was approached. Within the historical limits of the study this is ably performed. The discussion of the various manifestations of primitivism may seem on the whole more satisfactory, perhaps because so many of the earlier discussions of this theme have been confused by lack of historical perspective, or by a limited comprehension of important figures like Rousseau, or by the introduction of such vague criteria as "romanticism" as guides in the discernment of motive. From such confusions Miss Whitney's account is fortunately free. Historical discussions of the idea of progress have been on the whole less persistently beset by self-inflicted difficulties, although even here Miss Whitney introduces a number of new and interesting considerations.

The discussion of primitivism may seem better for still another reason; the chapters devoted directly to this idea are ordered by a more satisfactory principle of organization. The opening chapter deals with the "Philosophical background of eighteenth century primitivism"; the three chapters following consider in turn the various separate strains in the current uses of the conception, important oppositions which were involved, philosophical changes, and popular inferences. In this way the various facets are each clearly distinguished, brought to light, and separately traced; at the same time interesting combinations, popular confusions, and important individual syntheses are not lost sight of. The chapters which deal directly with the idea of progress lack this particular clarity. Two chapters treat ably of the philosophical affiliations between the ideas of progress and important philosophies of the time,

and at the same time discuss the particular form of the idea in a number of important writers—what Miss Whitney calls “England’s best contributions to the idea of progress in the eighteenth century” (p. 206). The chapter following these deals with the “semi-popularizers” (p. 207), and the next with presumably an even lower stratum of writers, “fictional propagandists.” Distinguishing of categories of sources is an important function of the historian, no doubt, and the category last named above presents a special type of problem probably best handled separately; but it is a question whether the history of ideas is best ordered by making categories of documents the basis of important units in the organization. Why, it may be asked, after seeing Miss Whitney’s distribution of them, is Hartley a better contributor to the idea of progress than Godwin? Both were important influences, and both, as Miss Whitney so ably shows us, involved themselves in logical errors, even though Godwin may have been in this the greater sinner. Another difficulty appears in the chapter “Attempts at compromise”: the progressivism of such writers as Godwin or Mary Wollstonecraft, who are not included, is a compromise in some respects quite as satisfactory as that, let us say, of Monboddo, who is. One result of Miss Whitney’s method of procedure in this part of her study is that, whereas individual writers are often acutely analyzed, important aspects of the idea of progress appear and reappear casually as they find their place in various types of documents, necessitating repetition or resulting in loss of sharp delineation. At times, too, generalizations anticipate adequate documentation, which appears with less concentration than it might. The chapters devoted to primitivism avoid these difficulties, yet without losing the impression of variety and combination in the diffusion of the idea.

But this should not be made to appear too serious a complaint, especially as in the very nature of its development during the period under consideration the idea of progress presents special difficulties. The writers who were lured by progressivism in any of its forms are sometimes not easily dealt with in terms of a set of logical categories, since, because of the relative novelty of the idea, which made them less wary of implicit confusions, and their occasional reluctance to discard the familiar prejudices inherited from the more fully developed and well-established primitivism, they are often characterized by a bewildering complexity. Moreover, Miss Whitney has made one of the major themes of her study the popular destiny of these ideas, and from the point of view of their different stages of combination and dilution her scheme may have much to recommend it, even though something may thus be lost in the way of logical continuity. In any case, qualification and regret are less in order for Miss Whitney’s work than commendation; for the most part one is impressed by the closeness of the logical analyses, the adequacy of the documentation, and the skill and even attractiveness of the exposition.

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*Sir Richard Steele.* By WILLARD CONNELLY. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934. Pp. 462.

Since the publication forty-five years ago of Aitken's great work, there have accumulated many new details relating to Steele's personal life and to his literary and political affairs. Mr. Connely has endeavored to collect and test these new materials and to assemble them with the well-known facts in a new life.

The most interesting of the new materials used, some of which are brought to this picture from scattered printed sources and others of which appear here for the first time, are the following. From the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, references to Lady Mildmay, Steele's Aunt Katharine; his letters in 1701 and 1705 to Edmund Revett, the nephew of Lord Cutts; Defoe's report to Lord Oxford, in 1714, instigating Steele's expulsion from Parliament; two letters from Steele to Oxford in 1710 and 1712 and that to the Scottish Commissioners in 1718. From manuscripts in the British Museum, the Steele-Newcastle correspondence from 1714 to 1724; and material bearing on Elizabeth Aynston—Steele's natural daughter—and her relations to the Tonson family. From manuscripts in the Huntington Library, the correspondence of Steele and James Brydges between 1710 and 1719. From a Yorkshire manuscript, a series of letters to Charles Wilkinson during the Boroughbridge period. From *Court intrigues* (the pirated edition of *The lady's packet broke open*), by Mary Manley, four letters (known but ignored by Aitken) ostensibly written to her by Steele. From miscellaneous places, letters to Ambrose Philips, William Cleland, and Sir Robert Walpole; and details relating to Steele in the army and at Oxford, to William Aynston, his son-in-law, to Mrs. Steele's friend, Hannah Maria Keck, and to her mother, Mrs. Scurlock.

Within the space of a review it is not possible to comment on the light and coloring which these data bring to the portrait of Steele. Brief mention only may be made, by way of illustration, of the new biographical details used and of a few omitted in the treatment of the early period—that is, before the *Tatler*.

One pleasing new detail is the identification of Steele's aunt, the wife of his "good Uncle," Henry Gascoigne, who was the benefactor of his youth. Aitken knew no more than that she was the sister of one of Steele's parents. It is now known that she was Lady Mildmay, née Katharine Steele; and through the records of the Ormond Papers, she becomes a personality as well as a name. This discovery was made (a fact not recorded by Mr. Connely) by F. Elrington Ball, Swift's editor.<sup>1</sup> Through entries in the Merton College Buttery Books, a bit is added to our knowledge of Steele at Oxford; but a rather nice letter in which his arrival at Christ Church was announced by his tutor, Welbore Ellis, is not included.

<sup>1</sup> HMC, Ormond Papers, N.S., VIII (1920), xvii n.

The account of his experience in the army is vague and in part inaccurate. Two facts not used before are given: that in the spring of 1695, through the influence of Lord Cutts, he was made a standard bearer at the head of a company in the Coldstream Guards; and that his commission as ensign in Lord Cutts's own company is dated April 23, 1697. But the narrative is confused by the assumption that Steele had become a captain, presumably of the Guards, by 1700, and that by 1701 he was a captain of Fusiliers. There is no record, however, of a captain's commission at all until that in Lord Lucas's Thirty-fourth Regiment of Foot, which is dated March 10, 1702.<sup>2</sup> In this case, more trustworthy than contemporary gossip, which did label Steele captain early in 1700, is his own comment (in the *Apology*, where he is speaking of the *Christian hero*, published in 1701) that he "first became an Author when an Ensign of the Guards." In the light of the date of his commission as captain—which was two days after the death of King William—another remark in this passage, regarded by Mr. Connely as enigmatic, takes on meaning. What Steele said was that his name, "to be provided for, was in the last Table Book ever worn by the Glorious and Immortal William the Third." The two letters to Colonel Edmund Revett are lively additions, especially that written when Steele was at work on the *Funeral*. The identification of Revett, however, is inaccurate. He was not a brother-in-law of Lord Cutts; he married Cutts's niece Joanna.<sup>3</sup> In the letter to Revett dated August 2, 1705 (quoted on pp. 95, 96), Steele himself suggests a clue to their relationship by his reference to "your Uncle Cutts."

A startling addition to this period is the letter written by Steele (in 1702 from Landguard Fort) to a correspondent identified as Lady Marlborough. Mr. Connely accepts at its face value testimony that the letter was "taken from the Blenheim Collection of Papers . . . addressed to the Duchess of Marlborough."<sup>4</sup> It seems incredible, however, that Steele would write in so lover-like a style to this great lady; and there is no evidence from this or a later period to confirm or even support belief that he did. Aitken reported the existence in the Blenheim MSS of several other drafts dated from Landguard; conceivably, this is one also which was mistaken for a letter to the Duchess. Mary Manley, more likely, was his correspondent. Indeed, the letter is in the vein of those which he wrote to her during these very years.

Mrs. Manley fares badly in this study of Steele, as in those of the past. She is treated with flippancy and contempt; and the grudging admission is made that "she now and again in her writings lapsed into fact." Yet so often have her accounts of Steele been confirmed by unimpeachable evidence that surely she deserves a more careful—and respectful—reading. A recent investigation

<sup>2</sup> Charles Dalton, *English army lists and commission registers, 1661-1714* (6 vols., 1892-98), IV (1694-1702), 173.

<sup>3</sup> HMC, Frankland-Russell-Astley Papers (1900), Introd.

<sup>4</sup> J. H. Leslie, *The history of Landguard Fort in Suffolk* (1898), p. 60 (the source of the letter).

into her life and writings<sup>5</sup> opens up the way for determining more facts about this obscure period of Steele's life: his stay on the Isle of Wight, of which his patron Cutts was governor, his experiments in alchemy, his doings as a young writer and a soldier on duty in and near London. Important for this purpose are two series of letters, printed by Mrs. Manley in her *Lady's packet broke open*, which are either the genuine texts of Steele's letters to her or fictionized adaptations. Four of these letters Mr. Connely cautiously and apologetically introduces into his narrative; but he fails to make effective use of them. They should be dated earlier. For example, the one (quoted in part on p. 76) containing references to Garth's *Dispensary* and the *Christian hero*, which would date it prior to March, 1701, is dated tentatively as late 1703. The references in it to alchemy are thus made to fit Aitken's theory as to the time of Steele's experiments—a theory which, in the light of facts about Mrs. Manley and about Steele himself as shown in other of these letters, is open to question. No mention is made of one group of the Steele-Manley letters, which are of particular interest because of references in them to Steele's stay on the Isle of Wight. Nothing at all is said in the book of that possibility; and another omission is a friendly letter written by Steele in 1700 (shortly after the duel episode) to Joseph Dudley, who was Cutts's deputy-governor on the Isle of Wight.

In the main, the record of Steele's youth and young manhood is a little fuller here than elsewhere. The presentation is picturesque and dramatic; but this coloring is ineffective, at times, when the accuracy of factual details is open to question.

The chief weakness in the design of the book is its lack of a clearly defined purpose. The casual reader looking for entertainment or general information will be bewildered by the day-to-day method of the all-sifting biographer. And the student hoping for enlightenment will also be disappointed. For the line is not drawn firmly enough between *ana* and fact. Details are not easily accessible: for example, the new Cleland letter is not to be found in the text or notes of chapter xi, where by date it belongs, but is buried in the notes of chapter xiv; and it is not indexed. Dispassion is at times lacking; within the space of a few pages Pope is called "weasel," "fox," "wasp," "hobgoblin," and "monkey."

But these criticisms are graceless from one who is well aware of the complexity of the materials and who has read the book with so much pleasure. Steele is a minor figure in English literature who has inspired devoted and able biographers. To bear witness, we have John Nichols' indefatigable labors on his life and works, the noble vindication of his character by John Forster,

<sup>5</sup> Paul Bunyan Anderson, "The history and authorship of Mrs. Crackenthorpe's *Female tatter*," *Modern philology*, XXVIII (1931), 354-60; and "Delariviere Manley's prose fiction," *Philological quarterly*, XIII (1934), 168-88. Mr. Anderson has at Harvard University an unpublished dissertation on Mrs. Manley. I am indebted to him for helpful suggestions.

the brilliant life by Austin Dobson, Aitken's treasury of information, and G. R. Carpenter's useful little handbook. To these we are grateful to add Mr. Connely's biography, which presents Steele—the human being—with so much zest, liveliness, humor, and real understanding.

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*Jahrbuch der Goethe-Gesellschaft*, Band XX. Herausgegeben von MAX HECKER. Weimar: Verlag der Goethe-Gesellschaft, 1934.

The latest volume of the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* is devoted mainly to Schiller. Two of the principal papers, those by Werner Deubel and Ernst Bertram, are dominated by the neo-Nietzschean opposition of *Bios* and *Logos*, formulated by Klages and accepted by Bertram and Prinzhorn and by Stefan George in his theory of the heroic race type.

The *Bios* is identified by Klages with the "soul," the *Logos* with the *Geist*, which in turn is tacitly identified with the rationalistic "reason" of the Kantian tradition. At the outset of his essay, entitled "Umrisse eines neuen Schillerbildes," Deubel characterizes that philosophy and psychology, by means of which he tries to limn his "new image" of Schiller, as follows:

Any interpretation of the world [*Welterklärung*] which places the reason [*Geist*] at the apex of the world order, must—as has been shown by Klages—deprive the reality of the *Bios* of its proper dignity [*Eigenwürde*]. It must regard the *Bios* ultimately as dead matter and the animate human body as a soulless mechanism of physical reactions.

This absolutistic opposition of "soul" and "mind" is fundamentally a reversion to the ancient mythology of the "life-force," the teleological principle which is assumed as the *prima causa* of all creative processes. It dominated physiological science and the evolutionary theory during the eighteenth century and has even now considerable support among physiologists and biologists. In recent cultural philosophy it has donned two guises, namely, that of the opposition of "rationality" and "irrationality," elaborated in the modern neo-Kantian and neo-romantic *Geisteswissenschaft*; and that of Klages's neo-Nietzschean antithesis of *Bios* and *Logos*. It is interesting to note that these twin products of an inverted system of post-Kantian rationalism, whose primary terms are dependent on the criteria inherent in the Kantian conception of the "reason," seem persistently to ignore their relationship. Since the present writer has given, in his *Academic illusions*, a detailed analysis of the fundamental philosophical premises of these antitheses, it is not necessary to enter into them in this review.

We find in Deubel's paper all the terms characteristic of the mythology of the metaphysical life-force or "soul," which is not mind, yet is assumed somehow to perform the functions of the mind, and perform them better and more

primarily than the mind. Among these are the "daemonic," even intensified, after the pattern of Kant's rationalism, to the "purely" daemonic; the "Dionysian"; the "orgiastic," the "ecstatic," the "volcanic," and the other traditional terms expressive of an absolutely primary, spontaneous, teleological, superhuman force rising out of an unfathomable abyss of mystical obscurity. These terms are implied to pertain to an *Urphänomen*, an absolutely primary emergence of essential being in a mysterious shape perceptible only to the intuitions of the biocentric soul. This soul is identified with the "Graeco-German" type in contrast to the "Graeco-Judaic" type, characteristic of the *Geist* and of the philosophy of Kant. The "soul" alone is capable of understanding the tragic-heroic fate. The *Urphänomen* is akin to the mystical *Urbild*, the absolutely primary essence, of a personality.

Ernst Bertram, in his address on Schiller, adds to that jargon related words like "Germanic-Doric," "Doric hardness," "Doric strength," "aristocratic," "noble," "virile," "warrior," "conqueror," "heroic" (strangely coupled with Socrates), "sublime," and, of course, again the "daemonic," as specifically pertaining to the *Bios*-soul. Some of these words are repeated again and again in a context of strained rhetoric without temperamental moderation or relief, without natural fluctuations, which afflicts and fatigues like a merciless hammering on one sharp, high-pitched note.

By forcing these alien terms into Schiller's thought and poetry and using them as keys to an interpretation of Schiller's striving for clarity and beauty, Deubler and Bertram arrive at a fantastic perversion of his growth and achievement into a struggle between his *Logos* and his "soul," his "reason" and his *Bios*. In Deubler's discussion of *Das Lied an die Freude*, for instance, enthusiasm becomes "orgiasm"; joy, "ecstasy"; and the expansive vision of a happy, Olympian fervor of humanity is twisted into Dionysian fury. For does not Nietzsche say: "Die Psychologie des Orgasmus als eines überströmenden Lebens- und Kraftgefühls . . . gab mir den Schlüssel zum Begriff des tragischen Gefühls"?

"Fate," conceived as a heroic-tragic force inherent in the *Bios*-soul, plays an important part in that neo-romantic mythology. It does not seem to have occurred to its heralds that such a fate, such an absolute, *dunkler Drang*, would leave no room for a shred of the heroic-tragic. It could be only the terminal part of a process of an absolutely mechanistic determinism. Goethe's "two souls" in *Faust*, Schiller's distinction between the "naïve" and the "sentimental," his interest in the Kantian philosophy, his co-operation with Goethe, are all monotonously tortured into the form of the conflict of *Bios*-soul and *Logos*-reason. Such methods are so contrary to reality, so arbitrarily bound to preconceived notions, that a few examples are sufficient to show their hollowness. Deubler assumes that Schiller, after wearying of the yoke of the *Logos* imposed on him by Kant, sought "refuge" with Goethe. How false this account is appears from the fact that almost all the most significant effects of



Kantian ideas on Schiller's poetic and theoretic work appeared at the very height of his intimate friendship and collaboration with Goethe. His most perfect and definitive formulation of Kantian theories and their application to poetry occurs in his aesthetic poem, *Das Ideal und das Leben*, written in midsummer, 1795. From a careful study of his *Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* and of *Über naive und sentimentale Dichtung* a good case could be made out for the conclusion that Schiller, when he had grown more assured of his power as a poet and a critic, became less submissive to Goethe's naturalistic philosophy than in the first years of their friendship and reverted even to some of the elements of Kantian rationalism which he had at first rejected. This seems rather evident in the second series of the *Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung* and in the attempt, made in *Über naive und sentimentale Dichtung*, to vindicate for the "sentimental" poet, that is to say, the poet guided by normative theories, like himself, a rank fully equal to the "naïve" poet, of whom he regarded Goethe as the purest representative. In one passage he even went so far as to assign to the naïve poet the lower rank.

One might even conclude that Schiller, so far from seeking refuge for his intimidated "biocentric soul" with Goethe, brought a large share of his Kantian "logocentric Geist" to Goethe. During the height of their intimacy Goethe introduced into his final version of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* the anonymous persons whose sole purpose is to set forth the Kantian idea of ethical "freedom." Chapter for chapter he heeded the criticisms and suggestions assiduously offered by Schiller. He even added the eighth book in deference to Schiller's suggestions, endeavoring to combine, in Natalie, the original naturalism of his conception of a superior type of character with the Kantian principle of ethics. The elaborate development of Kantian rationalistic ideas of ethics, values, and motives of conduct, incorporated in the characters of both Faust and Mephistopheles in the first part of *Faust*, belongs also to the period of his greatest intimacy with Schiller.

Joachim Ulrich, in his essay on "Goethes Einfluss auf die Entwicklung des Schillerschen Schönheitsbegriffs," does not follow the excesses of the other two writers. He makes a careful analysis of the *Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* and a less detailed one of *Über naive und sentimentale Dichtung*. It seems doubtful, however, whether he has been able to add much substance to his thesis of Goethe's influence. His most important point—which is not new—that Goethe imparted to Schiller his own conception of the total unity of nature and life, seems considerably overstressed. Goethe, to be sure, had an enormous knowledge of instances of that unity and a vast mass of ideas upon it, by which he must have enriched Schiller's understanding of that unity. But the main idea had, after all, been extensively and richly developed throughout the naturalistic movement which culminated in Rousseau, Hamann, Herder, and the Storm-and-Stress movement. It is inconceivable that an indefatigable reader like Schiller should not have been familiar with it.

Even Kant had read Rousseau. As early as August 23, 1794, and again, on August 31, 1794, at the very beginning of his friendship with Goethe, Schiller expounded the naturalistic idea of nature with reference to Goethe extensively and clearly in a manner indicating his belief that he was communicating an idea of his own.

It seems surprising that Ulrich should have apparently paid almost no attention to the correspondence between Goethe and Schiller, in which Schiller is throughout far more the giver than the receiver.

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*Ugo Foscolo, l'homme et le poète (1778-1827)*. By ARMAND CARACCIO. Paris: Hachette, 1934. Pp. xxi+609.

The most immediate impression left by M. Caraccio's excellent study of Foscolo is that of the congeniality existing between author and subject. Remote Italian ancestry, on the author's part; the fact that he, like Foscolo, found himself caught in a terrible period of war and discouragement and, again like Foscolo, turned to writing as a means of escape; and the extensive acquaintance with the period in question acquired in his previous study of *Stendhal*<sup>1</sup> account to some extent for this sympathetic treatment. The author makes no claim to have uncovered new material, but he does what is almost if not quite as difficult: he attempts to drag Foscolo out from under the masses of writing to which he and his work have been subjected and to present as fair an evaluation of the writer as is possible at the distance of only a century. Hence the book offers no thesis for discussion, but wherever possible the author has taken a definite stand on the many problems which have arisen regarding this most complex individual living in one of the most involved periods of Italy's history. The book has a striking unity in the author's persistent effort to penetrate the psychology of Foscolo. The judgments of previous biographers and critics are often laid aside to make room for a more open-minded estimation of this strange poet, intensely Greek, most patriotic of Italians, loyal subject of England, and throughout his scant fifty years indefatigable lover and writer. The present volume is confined to the life and poetry of Foscolo. It is to be followed by another on Foscolo the critic, which will contain Foscolo's literary doctrines.

Approximately a third of the book is devoted to Foscolo's life. Here M. Caraccio has had to break more than one lance in Foscolo's favor, for there are many things which expose him to the broadsides of intolerant biographers. The author has used a great deal of common sense in judging these matters. He has consistently succeeded in treating the innumerable amours of the poet on a plane above that of cheap gossip and below the lofty level of moral condem-

<sup>1</sup> *Stendhal: Promenades dans Rome* (Paris: Champion, 1934).

nation, realizing that these amours are the stuff of Foscolo's best inspiration and should be handled with discernment and discretion. With like understanding he has met those apparent inconsistencies in Foscolo's political behavior which have often troubled patriotic Italians, who are so dazzled by the Risorgimento that they are unable to reconstruct the uncertainties and doubts of the early years of the nineteenth century. Foscolo, who had, with good reason, lost faith in the possible salvation of Italy and Greece, did what any sensible man would have done: he withdrew to a quiet place where he could work, and he is not to be condemned for not having perished in the liberation of Greece.

M. Caraccio works his way skilfully through the tangled history of the composition, publication, and various feminine inspirers of *Le ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*. His pages on the debt owed by Foscolo to Goethe and Rousseau are particularly interesting; his careful analysis shows that the differences between Foscolo and his predecessors are perhaps more fundamental than the likenesses. This Italian novel is admirably characterized as a drama of forced inaction in which vast energy is spent by the hero in the accomplishment of nothing.

Numerous problems arise in the consideration of Foscolo's great poems *I sepolcri* and *Le grazie*, and they have been accorded the attention they demand. The questions of the immediate inspiration of *I sepolcri*, of English influence on the poem, and of its method of composition are well treated. Convinced as he is that Foscolo's idea for the poem came directly from his friend Ippolito Pindemonte's unfinished poem on the same subject, M. Caraccio defends Foscolo's seeming indelicacy on the ground that poets have a right to inspiration from any source, and their justification lies in the use they can make of it. As for *I sepolcri* and Gray's *Elegy*, the difference of inspiration is more essential than any outward similarity; the latter is a poem of resignation, the former of heroism. The author does not agree with those critics who see perfect unity in *I sepolcri*. It is most probable that the verses on Parini were written two years earlier and were later worked into *I sepolcri*. Foscolo's habit of elaborating small sections of his work and then uniting them is quite apparent in *Le grazie*, and is very likely the method adopted in writing *I sepolcri*, although the seams between the patches are less evident. This poem so often praised for its universality is really nationalistic, whereas *Le grazie* is truly universal. *I sepolcri* is one of the hammer blows destined to forge the Risorgimento—and this patriotic purpose is at once the originality and the weakness of the poem.

M. Caraccio's chief contribution is his analysis and appraisal of *Le grazie*, which he considers the best work of Foscolo. This work contains much of the poet's personality and his profoundest aesthetic views. The beauty of the poem is explained psychologically. It was for Foscolo an escape from politics, vulgarity, and suffering. It was a temple which he adorned for his worship of paganism and beauty. The charm of *Le grazie* is due to Foscolo's faith in

mythology and not merely in its literary efficacy. *Le grazie*, though, according to Foscolo, almost finished in 1814, remained unpublished, except for a few fragments, until after the poet's death. There is given in detail the curious history of the poet's constant revision of his work, its various forms, the unusual story of its reconstruction and publication by Orlandini, and its ultimate reduction into the original fragments and their publication by Chiarini. Unfortunately, the poem is marred somewhat by the affectation which it possesses in common with the art of Canova, which Foscolo greatly admired along with the rest of his generation. On the whole, the poetical *procédés* used in *Le grazie* are similar to those found in *I sepolcri*. There is the same daring juxtaposition of past and present events, mythological or historical; some didacticism, though more veiled in the latter poem; always the same unifying brilliance of color and form, the charm one finds in Botticelli's *Allegory of spring*, possibly one of the inspirations of *Le grazie*; the power of evoking the beauty of one form of art in terms of another; the same haunting sense of death. *I sepolcri* voices Foscolo's opposition to Napoleon; *Le grazie*, his loyalty to Amalia Augusta and Eugène de Beauharnais.

A great deal of space, perhaps too much, is given to the study of Foscolo's early poems, his tragedies, and his satirical verse. Not only are these works inferior in quality but they are blind alleys in the poet's production. The themes, inspiration, and manner of his early verse are almost totally rejected by the mature writer, and none of the tragedies or satires seems to lead to his greater works. But even the most arid efforts of Foscolo are made interesting by M. Caraccio's treatment, and this comprehensive study will be as welcome among American scholars as among those of France and Italy.

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*The writings of Walter Pater: a reflection of British philosophical opinion from 1860 to 1890.* By HELEN HAWTHORNE YOUNG. Bryn Mawr Diss. Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Privately printed, 1933. Pp. 137.

*Walter Pater: a study in methods and effects.* By J. GORDON EAKER. ("University of Iowa studies," Vol. V, No. 4.) Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa, 1933. Pp. 52.

Miss Young's aim has been to study minutely all of Pater's writings for evidences that he reflected the shifting currents of philosophical thought through thirty of the most intellectually turbulent years of the nineteenth century. She has labored under several unavoidable difficulties. In the first place, as the author admits, Pater's thought is "passive, confused, shifting . . . with distinctions blurred, and influences crossed" (p. 130). In addition, English thought during the thirty years following the publication of the

*Origin of species* was itself shifting, tentative, in transition. And, finally, the study of Pater's reflection of any of that welter of speculation must of necessity be highly inferential. Clarity can be attained only after prolonged attempts at perspective. It is here that Miss Young's work falls short; we cannot see the woods for the trees. Nowhere are we given the incisive and illuminating generalization which will synthesize her innumerable quoted phrases and isolated facts. The chapters end without conclusions; the book ends virtually without a summary. This is all the more unfortunate since the exasperatingly vague and ambiguous character of Pater's thought is precisely such as to demand firm outlines in its exposition. A more adequate survey of British thought from 1860 to 1890 than that given in chapter ii might have facilitated the presentation of material in later chapters, where an exhaustive study of Pater's ideas is too often accompanied by a very thin indication of Pater's intellectual background.

On the side of merit, Miss Young's study is a detailed investigation of the changes in Pater's ideas and general point of view from his early religious skepticism, Cyrenaic ethics, and atomic individualism (p. 20), through his "synthetic views" under the influence of German Idealism, to his final standpoint as akin to Bradley, Bosanquet, and Green in its idealistic exaltation of sympathy and the organic in social relationships. The end results of the investigation point to the conclusion that, although Pater "prided himself on being eclectic" (p. 7), and did indeed reflect the numerous intellectual tendencies of his time, he was "hesitant among various theories" (p. 115) and intended always "not to make up his mind" (p. 114). His arbitrary and inaccurate use of words, moreover, makes it difficult to outline any very striking development in his thought other than the well-known change from skeptical Cyrenaicism to a faint and far from indubitable Catholicism in his later years. When one has finished Miss Young's book, one has therefore the impression of exaggeration in her statement that Pater "reflects more completely than other writers the opinion of the age in which he lived" (p. 6).

Dr. Eaker's study is a short, unpretentious, carefully worded analysis of Pater's methods as a literary artist. The keynote throughout is quiet restraint. Beginning "somewhat arbitrarily," as he admits in the introduction, with "The child in the house" and *Imaginary portraits*, the author proceeds to explore the methods employed in *Greek studies*, *Marius the epicurean*, and the later essays. Little original material is presented, and no striking changes in our evaluation of Pater are made necessary by the conclusions of the study. The work as a whole is a usefully clarifying analysis of Pater's methods in the light of a fresh examination of all of Pater's works, under the guidance of the best critical and biographical materials available. Unfortunately, so little scholarly study has been devoted to Pater that Dr. Eaker has had very meager aid. Pater still awaits his true biographer: Thomas Wright's *Life* is grotesquely wanting in proportion, taste, and competency; while Benson, Thomas, and Greenslet supply us with little more than a surface narrative. Dr. Eaker has

made such good use, however, of the German studies by scholars like Beyer and Staub that one wonders if his treatment could not have been enriched by the French studies of the aesthetic movement by Farmer and Rosenblatt.

Occasional statements err, perhaps, in phrasing or judgment. Not all readers will agree that Pater "is unsurpassed among British essayists in this one thing, the artistic perfection of his composition." The types of artistic perfection may be ranked differently by various critics. Nor is it possible for all of us to agree that "the controlled perfection of his composition, its temperate proportion, should have satisfied even the rigorous demands of Plato." In Volume IV, No. 3, of the same series of "Humanistic studies," a predecessor of Dr. Eaker in the field of Pater's artistic methods, Zilpha E. Chandler, has drawn the conclusion, from a meticulous study of his style, that "by reason of the fact that it gives us so little of the man himself, it cannot rank with the greatest of art,—perhaps, even, is not great art at all." Finally, disagreement may arise also over the statement that Carlyle's "selective method" "proved more successful in the short biographical studies of *Heroes and hero-worship* than in the more extensive scheme of the *French revolution*."

These, however, are minor criticisms not unquestionably to be ranked adversely. One sentence in Dr. Eaker's study may serve to link Miss Young's work with his, and to state briefly the trend of thought which she has studied. Apropos of *Marius the epicurean*, the author writes: "It is apparently the purpose of Pater's design to exhaust one possibility after another, first Epicureanism, then Stoicism, until finally the door is left open to Christianity" (p. 29). His thought, if not his style, ran the gamut of values from "Cyrenaic 'intensity,'" through a quasi-stoical *ascēsis*, to the final spurious "Romanism" of St. Austin's Priory.

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